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THE

SWADESHI MOVEMENT

A SYMPOSIUM.

VIEWS OF

REPRESENTATIVE

INDIANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS.

SECOND EDITION
Revised and Enlarged.

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

THIS is a collection of Essays and Speeches on the Swadeshi movement by eminent Indian and Anglo-Indian gentlemen. To make the collection fully representative, comprehensive and up-to-date, the publishers have included numerous papers and extracts from notable utterances during the past ten years by official and non-official gentlemen in Bengal, Bombay, Madras, United Provinces and the Punjab. Authoritative official views on the movement are embodied in the speeches of Lord Minto, Lord Carmichael, Sir A. Lawley, Sir Andrew Fraser and Sir H. T. White.

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BY MR. GLYN BARLOW, M.A.

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CONTENTS.

	Page
Dadabhai Naoroji	1
H. H. The Gaekwar of Baroda	2
The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale	9
The Hon. Dr. Sir Rash Behari Ghose ...	31
Sir Vitaldas Damodar Thackersey	35
The Hon. Md. Yusuf Khan Bahadur... ...	38
Mrs. Annie Besant	43
Rajah Peary Mohun Mookerjee	48
Sister Nivedita	50
Mr. Lala Lajapat Rai	61
Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswamy Row ...	69
The Hon. Mr. Harikishen Lal	72
The Hon. Babu Surendranath Bannerjea ...	75
Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath	82
Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Row	89
Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., I.C.S. ...	91
Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri, Bar-at-Law ...	94
The Hon. Mr. Goculdas Parekh	101
The Hon. Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha ...	107
Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya ...	114
Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar, C.S.I.	118
Mr. Aswini Kumar Datta	124
The Hon. Mr. V. Krishnaswamy Iyer ...	130
The Hon. Babu. Amvica Charan Muzumdar ...	133
Mr. Myron H. Phelps	138
Mr. M. K. Gandhi	160
Mr. Glyn Barlow, M.A.	169
Lord Carmichael	179
The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim ...	180

CONTENTS.

		PAGE
The Hon. Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy, C.I.E.	...	180
Sir R. N. Mookerjee	...	183
H. H. The Maharaja of Dharbhangha	...	185
Prof. Radhakumud Mookerjee, M.A....	...	186
Rev. H. Fairbank	...	187
Dewan Bahadur Ambalal S. Desai ...	...	188
Mr. Harry Ormerod	...	193
The Hon. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer ...	...	196
Mr. G. S. Arundale, M.A., LL.B. ...	...	198
Sir Charles Elliot, K.C.M.G. ...	...	203
Mr. David Gostling	...	206
Rajah Prithwipal Singh	...	211
Rai Bahadur P. Anandacharlu, C.I.E.	...	221
Sir E. C. Buck, K.C S.I.	...	225
Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy ...	...	243
Mr. Mujbur Rahman	...	251
The Hon. Mr. Abdul Rasul ...	...	255
Babu Tara Prasanna Mukerji ...	...	258
Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer	...	262
The Hon. Mr. Ghuznavi... ...	...	265
The Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar	...	269
His Honor Sir Herbert T. White ...	...	272
Mr. Charles W. McKinn ...	...	273
Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak ...	...	275
Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose ...	...	277
Pandit Rambhaj Chaudhuri ...	...	288
Mr. Mushir Hosain Kidwai, Bar-at-Law	...	289
H. E. Sir. Arthur Lawley ...	...	294
His Honor Sir A. Fraser... ...	...	296
The Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A. ...	...	297

APPENDIX.

Swadeshi in Ireland	...	300
India's Resources	...	305
INDEX.		i—xii

LORD MINTO ON THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

Lord Minto, in the course of his reply to an Address of Welcome presented to him by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in 1906, said :—

It lies with you to do much to assist the amelioration of many national wants, whilst it rests with you to a great extent to further that spread of technical education which is every day becoming more necessary, whilst the 'control and direction of the Swadeshi movement on sound lines' may well afford your Society ample opportunity for consideration. A devotion to the marvellous resources of this great country which are so open to a Society such as yours will, I feel sure, afford you many opportunities of furthering that commercial welfare upon which the prosperity of all countries so largely depends.

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THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

A SYMPOSIUM.

1. DADABHAI NAOROJI.*

"SWADESHI" is not a thing of to-day. It has existed in Bombay as far as I know for many years past. I am a free-trader and I am a Member in the Executive Committee of the Cobden Club for 20 years, and yet I say that "Swadeshi" is a forced necessity for India in its unnatural economic muddle. As long as the economic condition remains unnatural and impoverishing, by the necessity of supplying every year some Rs. 20,00,00,000 for the salary, pensions, &c., of the children of a foreign country at the expense and impoverishment of the children of India, to talk of applying economic laws to the condition of India is adding insult to injury. I have said so much about this over and over again that I would not say more about it here—I refer to my book. I ask any Englishman whether Englishmen would submit to this unnatural economic muddle of India for a single day in England, leave alone 150 years? No, never. No, Ladies and Gentlemen, England will never submit to it. It is, what I have already quoted in Mr. Morley's words, it is "the meddling wrongly with economic things that is going to the very life, to the very heart, to the very core of our national existence."

* From the Calcutta Congress Presidential Address.

2. H. H. THE GAEKWAR OF BARODA.*

The triumph of machinery has been the triumph of our age: the victory of steam and electricity will always be memorable among the decisive battles of the world. The rise of power-looms, for instance, has been stealing a march over the hand-loom workers, and the numbers employed in cotton weaving in India have declined by 23 per cent., even within the last decade. Even the ginning and the pressing of cotton has so extensively participated in the use of improved machinery that its hand workers have dwindled by fully 86 per cent. And yet it is this textile industry itself which shows how, with intelligent adaptation to the improved methods of art, our Indian industries can compete with the manufactures of Europe. The Bombay mills give daily employment to about 1,70,000 factory operatives, while so many as 30,000 more are maintained by the ginning presses. Some forty years ago we had only 13 cotton mills in all India. The number rose to 47 in 1876, to 95 in 1886, to 155 in 1895, and to 203 in 1904; and to-day the number of our cotton mills is still larger. We had less than 4,000 power-looms forty years ago: the number was over 47,000 in 1904. We had less than 3,00,000 spindles 40 years ago: the number exceeded five millions in 1904. These are insignificant figures compared with the huge cotton industry of Lancashire; but they show that we have made steady progress, and that we may fairly hope to make greater progress in the future if we are true to our aims and our own interests. Our annual produce of yarn is nearly six hundred

* From the Inaugural address to the Industrial Conference, held at Calcutta, 1906.

million lbs. in weight; and it is interesting to note that out of this total outturn about 30 per cent. is used mostly by our hand-loom weavers.

Gentlemen, it is with a legitimate pride that the Indian patriot marks this silent progress in the mill and hand-loom industries of India, which, next to agriculture, are the largest industries in this land. New mills have been started in Ahmedabad and Bombay within the last two years, largely as a result of the present Swadeshi movement. In the poor State of Baroda, too, this progress is marked. For more than twenty years the State worked a cotton mill in the capital town to give an object-lesson to the people and to encourage private companies to start similar mills. The call has now been accepted, and a private company has at last been formed, and has purchased the State mill from our hand with the happiest results. Recently a second mill has been completed, and is about to start work, and a third mill is now under construction. More than this, the number of ginning factories, and other factories using steam, has multiplied all over the State, and the number of hand-looms has doubled in some towns. All the courser counts of yarn in the Indian markets are now mostly of local spinning; an insignificant fraction alone being imported from abroad. In the case of yarn of higher counts, however, the local manufacture falls much below the supply of the foreign mills. Muslin and finer fabrics can be imported much more cheaply, and in a more pleasing variety of design and colour, than can yet be locally produced; and the hand-looms of the East, once so far-famed for the *finesse* of their fabrics, have now dwindled into small

importance. Prints and *chintz* from France, England and Germany are still extensively imported to meet not only the local demand, but also the demand of markets across the Indian Frontier in Persia and Afghanistan.

Thus, though there is reason for congratulation in the rise of our textile industries, there is yet greater reason for continued toil and earnest endeavour. We are still at the very threshold of success. Our cotton mills produced less than 600 million yards of cloth last year against over 2,000 million yards which we imported from other countries. Here is scope for indefinite expansion. We exported cotton of the value of 213 millions to foreign countries, and imported in return for this raw material cotton manufactures of the value of 390 millions. We are thus producing only a fourth of the mill-made cloth which the nation requires. And we should not rest till we are able to manufacture practically the total supply needed by our countrymen.

Gentlemen, the remarks I have made about the cotton industry of India apply to some extent to the other industries which require the use of steam. Bengal is known for its jute industry, which I believe is increasing year by year, and the number of jute mills has increased from 28 in 1895 to 38 in 1904. Northern India and the Punjab have some six woollen factories, whose produce has increased from $2\frac{1}{4}$ million pounds in weight in 1895 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds in 1904, and I have every hope that our countrymen, who have been so successful in cotton industry, will broaden the sphere of their operations, and take to jute and woollen industries also.

The silk industry is one of the most ancient industries of India, but declined like other ancient industries under the repressive commercial policy of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Some faint signs of improvement are, however, visible now. Tassur silk is manufactured in many parts of India, and quantities of it are exported to Europe. In Assam, silk still continues to be the national dress of women, and each family weaves silk *saris* for *its* own use. In Bengal some improvements have been recently effected by the adoption of scientific methods of testing the seed. In the Punjab the attempt to re-introduce the cultivation of silk worms has not been attended with marked success. In Kashmir the industry is indigenous, and the State is endeavouring to develop it. Much attention is paid to this industry in the advanced and enlightened State of Mysore. And in the State of Baroda I have been endeavouring to spread and develop the industry. The number of these filatures in India in 1904 was only 75, and the number of silk mills was only 11; but much silk is also produced as a cottage industry.

Gentlemen, so far I have confined myself to the textile industries; and I have scarcely time to refer at any length to the other industries of India. Brass and copper have been used for vessels in India from ancient times, but have been threatened lately by the cheap enamelled ironware of Europe. Aluminium is a new industry, and we are indebted to Mr. Chatterton of Madras for greatly developing it in India.

Recent geological surveys and investigations have brought to light the rich ore of iron which was lying

concealed so long in Central India; and there is a great scope for the development of the iron industry. Veins of iron ore are believed to exist in several places besides those where they have been yet explored; and if only a few more enterprising companies like my friend Mr. Tata's spring up and prospect these mines, they have a hopeful future before them. If the quality of the indigenous coal is only improved and the means of communication made more easy and cheap, so as to considerably reduce the cost of transport, it would appear more profitable to smelt our iron in our own furnaces, rather than import large quantities from abroad. I am glad to find that the able geologist who discovered suitable iron for Mr. Tata's scheme, Mr. P.N. Bose, has been selected to be your Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Conference. The scheme is still under the consideration of Mr. Tata's son, whom I had the pleasure of recently meeting in England. There were 89 iron foundries in India in 1904, and it is to be hoped that the number will rapidly increase in the near future.

Bengal is rich in coal-fields, and out of the 8 millions of tons of coal, worth about 2 crores of rupees, raised in all India in 1904, no less than 7 millions of tons were raised in Bengal. These will seem to you to be large figures; but what are 8 millions of tons compared with considerably over 200 million tons annually raised in England? Our countrymen are engaged to some extent in coal-mining, though greatly hampered in the endeavour both by want of capital and want of technical knowledge, and I am glad the Indian Government have granted scholarships to some young Indians to learn practical coal-mining in

England. The importance of coal consists in this—that its abundance makes every other industry on a large scale possible. Coal and iron have been the making of modern England, more than any other causes.

These are the principal industries of India carried on mainly by steam, and for facility of reference I have put down the figures* relating to them and a few other industries in a tabular form below :—

	1895.	1904.
Cotton Mills ...	148	203
Jute Mills ...	28	38
Woollen Mills ...	5	6
Cotton ginning, cleaning and Press Mills...	610	951
Flour Mills ...	72	42
Rice Mills ...	87	127
Sugar Factories ...	247	28
Silk Filatures ...	89	75
Silk Mills ...	28	11
Tanneries ...	60	35
Oil Mills ...	163	112
Lac Factories ...	138	128
Iron and Brass Foundries ...	64	89
Indigo Factories ...	8,225	422

These figures will show you at a glance our present situation in relation to the principal industries carried on by steam in India. In some industries, like cotton, we are only at the very threshold of success, and produce only about a fourth of what we ought to produce. In other industries, like woollen and jute, we are indebted almost entirely to European capital and enterprise ; we ourselves have scarcely made a beginning as yet. In a third class of industries, like sugar and tanneries, we have actually lost ground within the last ten years. While in a fourth class

* For up-to-date figures see appendix.

of industries, like iron, we are still almost wholly dependent on Europe, the produce of our own foundries scarcely supplying any appreciable proportion of the requirements of India. I repeat, therefore, what I have already said before: there is ground for hope but not for joy or elation, there are strong reasons for earnest and continued endeavour in the future to secure that success which we are bound to achieve if we are true to ourselves.

And there is one more fact which I would like to impress on you in concluding this brief survey of our present situation. A great deal of attention is naturally paid to the mill industries of India, and to tea, indigo, coffee and other industries in which European capital is largely employed. We know, however, that the labourers who can possibly be employed in mills and factories form only an insignificant proportion of the industrial population of India. Very much the larger portion of that industrial population is engaged in indigenous industries carried on in village homes and bazaars. India is, and will always remain, a country of cottage industries. Where hundreds of thousands can work in mills and factories, millions and tens of millions work in their own huts; and the idea of greatly improving the condition of the labourers of India merely by adding to mills and factories is only possible for those who form their opinions six thousand miles away. No, Gentlemen; any comprehensive plan of improving the condition of our industrial classes must seek to help the dwellers in cottages. It is the humble weavers in towns and villages, the poor braziers and coppersmiths working in their sheds, the resourceless potters and ironsmiths and carpenters who follow their

ancestral vocations in their ancestral homes, who form the main portion of the industrial population, and who demand our sympathy and help. It is they (more than the agriculturists, or the mill and factory labourers) that are most impoverished in these days and are the first victims to famines: and if your Swadeshi movement has brought some relief to these obscure and unnoticed millions and tens of millions in India, as I have reason to believe it has done to a perceptible extent, if it has created a larger demand for their manufactures, widened the sphere of their labours, and brought some light to their dark and cheerless homes, then the movement, Gentlemen, has my cordial sympathy. Help and encourage the large industries, but foster and help also the humbler industries in which tens of millions of village artisans are engaged and the people of India, as well as those who are engaged in the work of administration, will bless your work.

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3. THE HON. MR. G. K. GOKHALE.*

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I propose to speak to you to-day of the economic condition of India and the Swadeshi movement. One of the most gratifying signs of the present times is the rapid growth of the Swadeshi sentiment all over the country during the last two years. I have said more than once here, but I think

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* In the second week of February 1907, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale delivered a series of public addresses at Lucknow. This address, the second of the avove series, was delivered on 9th February, 1907, Raja Rampal Sing being in the chair.

the idea bears repetition, that Swadeshism at its highest is not merely an industrial movement, but that it affects the whole life of the nation,—that Swadeshism at its highest is a deep, passionate, fervent, all-embracing love of the motherland, and that this love seeks to show itself, not in one sphere of activity only, but in all: it invades the whole man, and it will not rest until it has raised the whole man. Now the first thing I want to say about this movement is that it has come here to stay. We often have movements which make a little noise for a time and then disappear without leaving any permanent mark behind. I think it safe to say that the Swadeshi movement is not going to be one of that kind, and my own personal conviction is that in this movement we shall ultimately find the true salvation of India. However, Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not wish to speak to you to day about Swadeshism in general. The more immediate question before us is Swadeshism as applied to the present economic situation of India—its scope and character, the materials with which it has to work, and the difficulties it has to overcome before it can achieve in any degree the true industrial regeneration of the country.

Gentlemen, as Mr. Ranade once pointed out, the industrial domination of one people by another attracts much less attention than the political domination of a foreign people. The industrial domination is less visible and does its work in a more insidious manner. The disadvantages of a political domination lie very much on the surface. We see a foreign race monopolising all power and authority and keeping the people in a state of subjection. These are facts which we observe and feel

every day of our lives. Human feelings often matter more to humanity than human interests, and when your feelings are hurt in various directions, as in a state of subjection they are bound to be—I do not mean to throw any unnecessary blame on any one—their thought fills you night and day and makes you think constantly of the fact that you are living under a foreign domination. On the other hand, the industrial domination of one people by another may come in an attractive garb. If, as has been the case with India, this foreign domination comes in the shape of more finished articles—especially articles that administer to the daily wants of a community—you unconsciously welcome the domination, you fall a victim to its temptations and its attractiveness. And it is only when the evil grows beyond certain limits, that your attention is drawn to it. Now this is precisely what has happened in the case of India. As soon as Western education came to be imparted to the people of this country, their first thoughts were directed to their political status. Of course they also thought of their social institutions. Those who are acquainted with the history of the last fifty years, know that the struggle for political and social reforms was started almost simultaneously: but I do not wish to go into that on this occasion. What I want to point out is that the thought of the industrial domination of India by England did not really occur to men's minds at that time. At any rate, it did not occur in that pointed manner in which the thought of political domination did. The result was that the main current of our public activity came to be directed towards the realisation of our political aspirations, and about 22 years ago

when the Congress came into existence for the political advancement of the people, the question of this industrial domination, though it had struck a few thoughtful minds, did not receive that consideration at the hands of the leaders of the people that it deserved. However, the industrial problem and its importance are now receiving their due recognition, and to-day at any rate we appear to have gone so far in this direction that there is now the risk of the industrial problem actually throwing into the shade the political problem, which, however, to a great extent lies at the root of the industrial problem.

Gentlemen, when we come to this question of India's industrial domination by England, we come to what may be described as the most deplorable result of British rule in this country. In other matters there are things on the credit side and things on the debit side. Take, for instance, the political and administrative results of British rule. We have here the shutting out of a whole race from positions of real trust and responsibility where powers of initiative can be developed, and this is producing disastrous results on the character of the people. We also see that the forcible disarming of a population is bound to crush the manhood of the nation. In these directions we find that a steady deterioration of the race has set in. But there are compensating advantages, and I am not sure that the balance is not on the latter side. Thus, the introduction of Western education, with its liberalising influence, has been a great blessing to the people. We now understand better the necessity of equal treatment for all; we also see that unless the status of woman is raised, man by himself will not be able to advance very

far; and altogether this Western education is doing most noble work in the country. Then the British have established, on the whole, equal justice between Indian and Indian—as between European and Indian, that is a different matter—but between Indian and Indian it is equal, though it is costly, and that is more than can be said of previous rulers. Railways, Telegraphs, Post Offices and other modern appliances of material civilization have also been introduced into India by the present rulers, and it is fair to acknowledge that these things have added greatly to the comforts and conveniences of life and are a powerful help to our progress. Lastly, there are the blessings of peace and of order well and firmly established. These are things which must be set against the steady deterioration of which I have already spoken, and I am not prepared to say that the balance is not, on the whole, on the side of the advantages. But when you come to the industrial field, you find that the results have been disastrous. You find very little here on the credit side and nearly all the entries on the debit side. Now this is a serious statement to make, but I think it can be sustained. I would ask you, first, to glance at what India was industrially before the English came into this country. It is true that there is very little direct or statistical evidence on this subject. But the statements made by travellers who came to this country supply a fair indication of how things were, though they do not enable us to establish a conclusion accurately or satisfactorily. We find, for instance, praise of India's riches in every place; we find also here and there a description of the poverty of the mass of the people. And, on the whole, I

think it is fair to say this—that, compared with other countries, India could not have been worse, and very probably she was better off than most other countries, and I think this description may well apply to her right up to the end of Mahomedan rule. India's reported wealth was the attracting cause of so many invasions. Large wealth must, therefore, have been accumulated in some hands, and so far as the bulk of the population was concerned, as the land was fertile and the people were industrious and thrifty and, on the whole, free from vices, such as drink, it is fair to conclude that the people must have enjoyed a considerable degree of rude agricultural prosperity. It is not proper to compare the West of to-day, with all its production of machinery and steam, with the India, of 200 years ago. Before steam and machinery were employed in the West, the West too was largely agricultural, and she had then no special advantages for the production of wealth over us. And I believe that, judged by the standards of those days, we could not have been poorer, and very probably we were richer than most Western countries. Then there was the excellence of our productions which attracted the attention of Western nations—the fine muslins and many other things exported from this country showed what a high level of excellence had been reached by our people in industrial production. When the Mahomedan rulers came, thoy settled in this country, and there was no question of any foreign drain. Things, therefore, must have, on the whole, continued as they had been before their time.

Then we come to British rule. Gentlemen, I refer, on this occasion, to the past only in order that, in the light

of it, we might understand the present and derive therefrom guidance and assistance for the future. The early days of the East India Company's rule were as bad as they could possibly be from the standpoint of India's industrial system. Deliberate steps were taken by the Company to destroy the industries of the people and to make room for Western manufacturers. This has been acknowledged by English writers themselves. This was England's policy, not towards India alone, but towards America and Ireland also. America got rid of it by shaking off England's domination altogether. Ireland struggled to do the same, but did not succeed. India suffered the worst under the operation of the evil policy. The object aimed at by the East India Company was to reduce India to the level of a merely agricultural country producing raw material only, without factories to manufacture the same. This was the first stage in our industrial decay. The second stage began when England forced on us the policy of free trade, *i.e.*, of leaving the door wide open to the competition of the whole world. England's own policy for centuries had been that of Protection, and by that policy she had built up her vast Industrial system. But about sixty years ago, after Protection had done its work, she decided to give up the old policy and adopt Free Trade, mainly to set right the abuses to which Protection had given rise. England depends on foreign countries for most of her raw materials, and she supplies manufactured articles practically to the whole world. It was, therefore, to the advantage of England that there should be no export or import duties, as one result of such duties was to add to the cost of the articles supplied to foreign

countries. But forcing this policy of free trade upon a country circumstanced as India was, was a wholly different thing and was bound to produce result of a most disastrous character. Our things were made with the hand; we did not possess anything like the combination, skill or enterprise of the West. Steam and machinery were unknown in the country. Our industries were, therefore, bound to perish as a result of the shock of this sudden competition to which they were exposed, and as a matter of course the introduction of Free Trade in this country was followed by the rapid destruction of such small industries as had existed in the country, and the people were steadily pressed back more and more on the one resource of agriculture. I should not have deplored even this destruction of our indigenous manufactures if the Government had assisted us in starting others to take their place. The German economist—List—whose work on Political Economy is the best that Indian students can consult, explains how the State can help an oldworld agricultural country, suddenly brought within the circle of the world's competition, to build up a new system of industries. He says that the destruction of hand-industries is a necessary stage through which an industrially backward country must pass before she can take rank with those which use steam and machinery and advanced scientific processes and appliances in their industrial production. When hand-made goods are exposed to the competition of machine-made goods, it is inevitable that the former should perish. But when this stage is reached, there comes in the duty of the State. The State, by a judicious system of protection,

should then ensure conditions under which new infant industries can grow up. And until the new industries can stand on their own legs, it becomes the duty of the State to have a protective wall around. This is what America —already one of the richest nations in the world, and one which will yet reach the foremost place—has done, and the case is the same with France and Germany. The result of England's policy in India has, however, been to facilitate more and more the imports of foreign commodities, until there is no country on the face of the earth to-day which is so dependent on the foreign producer as India is. At the present moment about 70 per-cent of our exports are raw material raised from the soil and exported in that condition. If we had the skill, enterprise, capital and organisation to manufacture the greater part of this material, there would be so many industries flourishing in the country. But the material goes out and comes back in the shape of manufactured commodities, having acquired a much higher price in the process of manufacture.

Again, if you look at your imports, you will find that 60 per cent. of them are manufactured goods. They are goods which have been made by other people, so that all you have got to do with them is to consume them. If this was all, if the steady rustication of India—her being steadily pushed back on the one resource of agriculture—was all that we had to deplore as the result of the present policy, the situation, bad enough as it would undoubtedly have been, would not have been so critical. But coupled with political domination, this has produced

a state of things which can only be described as intolerable. The total imports of India are worth about 100 crores of rupees every year. Our total exports, on the other hand, amount to about 150 crores a year.

In other words, every year about 100 crores worth of goods come to us, and we part with 150 crores worth of goods. After taking into consideration the precious metals that come into the country to redress a part of the balance, we still find that a loss of about 30 to 40 crores a year has to be borne by India. Now, I will put a simple question to those present here. If a hundred rupees come into your house every month and a hundred and fifty-rupees go out, will you be growing richer or poorer? And if this process goes on year after year, decade after decade, what will be your position after a time? This has been the case with India now for many years. Every year between 30 and 40 crores of rupees go out of India never to come back. No country—not even the richest in the world—can stand such a bleeding as this. Bleeding is a strong word, but it was first used with regard to this very process by a great English statesman—the late Lord Salisbury—who was Prime Minister of England for a long time and was before that Secretary of State for India. Now this bleeding is really at the root of the greater part of the economic mischief that we have to face to day. It means that this money, which would have been available to the people, if it had remained in this country, as capital for industrial purposes, is lost to us. The result is that there is hardly any capital of our own forthcoming for industrial purposes. Do not be misled by the fact that a few individuals appear to be

rich and have a little money to invest. You must compare India in this matter with other countries, and then you will find that there is hardly any capital accumulated by us to be devoted to industrial development. One of the greatest students of Indian Economics—the late Mr. Justice Ranade—once calculated that our annual savings could not be more than 8 to 10 crores of rupees. Put it even at 20 crores: what is that in a vast country like India compared with the hundreds and thousands of crores accumulated annually by the people of the West! This, then, is at the root of our trouble. I do not say that there are no considerations on the other side. It might, for instance, be said that the railways in this country have been constructed with English capital. About 375 crores have been so far spent to build these railways, and it is only fair that for this capital India should pay a certain sum as interest. Englishmen have also invested British capital in indigo, tea and other industries. A part of this capital has no doubt come out of their own savings made in this country, but whether the money has been earned here or imported from England, the investors are, of course, entitled to a reasonable rate of interest on it. But after a deduction is made on account of this interest, there still remains a sum of over 30 crores as the net loss that India has to bear year by year. You may ask what politics has got to do with this. Well, the greater part of this loss is due to the unnatural political position of India, and I think we shall not be far wrong if we put the annual drain, due to political causes directly and indirectly, at about 20 crores of rupees. The greater part of the 'Home

Charges' of the Government of India, which now stand at about 18 millions sterling or 27 crores of rupees, comes under this description. To this has to be added a portion at least of the annual savings of European merchants, lawyers, doctors and such other persons, as the dominant position of the Englishman in the country gives these classes special advantages which their Indian competitors do not enjoy. Then there are the earnings of the English officials and the British troops in this country. And altogether I am canvinced that it is not an extravagant estimate to put the annual cost to India of England's political domination at 20 crores of rupees, the remaining ten crores being lost on account of our industrial domination by England.

This, then, is the extent of the 'bleeding' to which we are subjected year after year! It is an enormous economic evil, and as long as it is not substantially reduced, the prospect cannot be a cheering one. After all, what can you do with a small amount of capital? You must not be led away by the fact that, from time to time, you hear of a new industrial concern being started here or there. The struggle is a much bigger one than that. It is like the struggle between a dwarf and a giant. If you will form the least idea of the resources of the Western people, then you will understand what a tremendously difficult problem we have to face in this economic field. If this continuous bleeding is to cease, it is incumbent that our men should be employed more and more in the service of the State so, that pensions and furlough charges might be saved to the country. The stores which the Government of India purchases in England should be

purchased locally as far as possible. In other directions also our position must be improved. But, I think, we should not be practical, if we did not recognise that any important change in the political relations between England and India could come only gradually. It is not by a sudden and violent movement that relief will come. It will only come as we slowly build up our own strength and bring it to bear upon the Government. As this strength is increased, so will the drain be diminished. The industrial drain—due to the fact that we depend so largely for our manufactures upon foreign countries—is really speaking, but a small part of the drain—about one third or ten crores of rupees a year. This means that if we ever succeeded in reaching a position of entire self-reliance industrially, it would still leave about two-thirds of the present annual drain untouched. Moreover, such entire dependence upon yourselves for industrial purposes is a dream that is not likely to be realised in the near future. I am sorry I must trouble you with a few figures, but a question of this kind cannot be adequately considered without bringing in statistics. What, then, is the position? India, as you know, is for the most part an agricultural country. Sixty-five per cent. of the population, according to the last census reports—80 per cent according to the computation of Lord Curzon—depend upon agriculture. The soil is become rapidly exhausted and the yield per acre is diminishing. If you compare the yield to-day with what it was in the time of Akbar, as given in the *Aini-i-Akbari*, you will be astonished to see what deterioration has taken place in the soil. This makes agricultural improvement a matter

of great difficulty. You have got to abolish old methods as much as possible and effect improvements by introducing the methods of the West. You have got to introduce agricultural science and improved agricultural implements, and the question is complicated by the fact that our agricultural production in this country generally is on what is called a small scale. Land is divided and sub-divided, and most of the holdings are so small as not to lend themselves to the use of advanced appliances. The ignorance and resourcelessness of the people also stand in the way and altogether agricultural improvement is bound to be a matter of slow growth. But this is one direction in which you young men help the country. Instead of scrambling for government service or overcrowding the already crowded bar, let a few at least among you acquire agricultural education abroad, acquaint yourselves with the use of advanced agricultural appliances, and then settle down to agricultural work in this country. You will thereby not only improve agriculture for yourselves, but you will also show the way to others, and they will follow when they see the good results obtained by you. The Government, which has only recently awakened to its duty in this matter, has already taken agriculture in hand, but the greater part of this work must be done by ourselves. Our next industry, after agriculture, is the textile industry—the cotton industry. Now, taking only the production of mills, we find that last year about one-fourth of what the whole of India needed was produced in India, and three-fourths came from outside. The capital that is invested in this country in the textile industry is between 16 and 17 crores of rupees. This

may seem a large amount to some of you, but what is it compared with the capital invested in this industry in England? In Lancashire alone 300 crores of rupees are invested in this textile industry, and every year the amount is increasing by leaps and bounds. On a rough calculation you will find that, if our present production is to be quadrupled, about forty to fifty crores of rupees of additional capital would be wanted. That cannot be a matter of a day. The hand-loom is doing good work, and has some future before it. But do not let us be under a delusion. The main part of the work will have to be done by machinery. It is only in this way that we shall be able to stand the competition of producers of other countries. If we are able to find this capital in the course of the next 10 or 15 years, I for one shall be content. My own fear is that it will take more than that. If by the end of ten years we are able to produce all the cotton cloth we require, I think we shall have done exceedingly well. We must all bend our energies in that direction and try to capture or rather recover this field as soon and as completely as possible. But then, Gentlemen, I would say this. The task, even under the most favourable circumstances, is a formidable one, and it is in the highest degree unwise to add to its great difficulty by unnecessary, bitter or lamentable controversies. You require for a satisfactory solution of this problem co-operation from all quarters, including the Government of the country. We have to depend, for the present at any rate, upon foreign countries for our machinery. If in pursuing our object, care is not taken to avoid causing unnecessary irritation to others, there is nothing to

prevent this Government from hitting back and imposing a heavy tax, say, of 20 or 25 per cent. on machinery, which would practically destroy all our chances of increasing our production of cotton goods. The problem is also largely a problem of the necessary quality of cotton being obtained in this country. At one time India produced very fine cotton and the finest muslins were made of it. Unfortunately the cultivation of that cotton has, in course of time, owing to various causes, been given up and the present cotton is of short staple which gives you only a comparatively coarse thread. Now we know from past experience that this land can grow superior cotton. And the Bombay Government have been for a number of years making experiments to introduce into the country Egyptian cotton, and have at last been able to produce a cross between the Egyptian and the Indian which has taken root. If all the area irrigated in Sind—the conditions of which are similar to those of Egypt—succeeds in growing this cotton, then the finer fabric problem will have been solved. The co-operation of Government in this matter is thus essential, and those who have occasion to talk of the Swadeshi question should not fail to realize that a great responsibility rests upon them. They only unnecessarily increase the difficulties in our path when they talk as though we could do without meaning to do so, such chances as exist for real industrial progress. But in the case of this cotton industry, I think the outlook, on the whole, is a most hopeful one.

I turn next to the sugar industry. At one time we exported sugar, but at the present time sugar comes into

this country to the amount of 7 crores a year. Foreign Governments have been helping their people with bounties, and they have discovered methods whereby the cost of production has been greatly reduced. We, on the other hand, still adhere to our old-world methods of production. Sugarcane is plentiful in all parts of India, especially in your province. If we make up our minds to encourage Indian sugar as far as possible, and in this case I am glad to be able to say "have nothing to do with foreign sugar"—we should be able, with the co-operation of Government, in a brief time to produce all the sugar we want. In this connection I was glad to notice a statement made by your Lieutenant-Governor the other day in the matter. He said he would rejoice if even a single ton of sugar did not come from other countries. By co-operation, therefore, between the people and the Government the sugar problem would be solved practically at once. In Bengal, again, they import a good deal of salt from England though other provinces consume mostly Indian salt. With such a vast sea-board as India possesses, India ought certainly to be able to produce her own salt. Again, about 20 lakhs worth of umbrellas, 50 lakhs worth of matches and 60 lakhs worth of paper come into the country every year from abroad. All these articles are now being produced here, and with a determination on our part to use these articles as much as possible and encourage their production and consumption, we should soon be able to shut out the foreign supply.

But, after all is said and done, I want you to recognise that the possibilities in the near future are not very large.

I say this not to damp any one's enthusiasm, because I do want that your enthusiasm should sustain itself at its highest glow in this matter. But remember that the competition before us is like that between a giant and a dwarf. Even if we successfully make up our minds to have nothing to do with foreign goods, even then the industrial salvation of India will not have been accomplished. We are the poorest country in the world at the present moment; England, on the other hand, is the richest. The production per head in India is £2 or Rs. 30 according to government calculation, and about Rs. 20 according to Indian calculation. England's production per head is £40, *i.e.*, about 20 or 30 times greater than that of this country. Take again the buying power of the people as judged by the imports. In England the average imports per head are about £15 or Rs. 235; in the self-governing Colonies of England they are £13; even in Ceylon they are £2 per head; but in India they are only six shillings or 4 to 5 rupees per head. There are other figures equally startling. Take, for instance, the deposits in banks. Of course banking is in a much more backward condition in this country than in England. But even making allowance for that, you will see that the disproportion is very great. The deposits in English banks are about 1,200 crores of rupees, for a population of about 4 crores. We are 30 crores and our deposits are only 50 crores for the whole of India, and these deposits include also the amount held by European merchants and traders in the country. Again, take the Savings Banks. In the Savings Banks and Trustees Banks in England there are 300 crores deposited to-day,

as against about 12 crores in this country—less than seven annas per head against about Rs. 75 per head in England. You can easily see now how terrible is the disproportion between England's resources and our own. Add to this the fact that machinery has to come from England, and by the time it is set up here, there is already some improvement effected in England. The problem before us is, therefore, a vastly difficult one and it is a solemn duty resting upon every one, who is a real well-wisher of the Swadeshi cause, not to add to that difficulty, if he can help it.

Our resources then are small, and our difficulties are enormous. It behoves us, therefore, not to throw away any co-operation, from whatever quarter it may be forthcoming. Remember that, though there is a certain scope for small village industries, our main reliance now—exposed as we are to the competition of the whole world—must be on production with the aid of steam and machinery. From this standpoint, what are our principal needs to-day? In the first place, there is general ignorance throughout the country about the industrial condition of the world. Very few of us understand where we are, as compared with others, and why we are where we are and why others are where they are. Secondly, our available capital is small, and it is, moreover, timid. Confidence in one another in the spirit of co-operation for industrial purposes is weak, and joint stock enterprise is, therefore, feeble. Thirdly, there is a lack of facilities for higher scientific and technical instruction in the country. Lastly, such new articles as we succeed in manufacturing find themselves exposed at once to the competition of the whole

world, and as, in the beginning at any rate, they are bound to be somewhat inferior in quality and probably higher in price, it is difficult for them to make their way in the Indian market. Now as our needs are various, so the Swadeshi cause requires to be served in a variety of ways, and we should be careful not to quarrel with others, simply because they serve the cause in a different way from our own. Thus, whoever tries to spread in the country a correct knowledge of the industrial conditions of the world and points out how we may ourselves advance, is a promoter of the Swadeshi cause. Whoever again contributes capital to be applied to the industrial development of the country must be regarded as a benefactor of the country and a valued supporter of the Swadeshi movement. Then those who organize funds for sending Indian students to foreign countries for acquiring industrial or scientific education—and in our present state we must, for some time to come, depend upon foreign countries for such education—or those who proceed to foreign countries for such education and try to start new industries on their return, or those who promote technical, industrial and scientific education in the country itself—all these are noble workers in the Swadeshi field. These three ways of serving the Swadeshi cause are, however, open to a limited number of persons only. But there is a fourth way, which is open to all of us, and in the case of most, it is, perhaps, the only way in which they can help forward the Swadeshi movement. It is to use ourselves, as far as possible, Swadeshi articles only and to preach to others that they should do the same. By this we shall ensure the consumption of whatever

articles are produced in the country and we shall stimulate the production of new articles by creating a demand for them. The mass of the people cannot contribute much capital to the industrial development of the country. Neither can they render much assistance in the matter of promoting higher-scientific, technical or industrial knowledge among us, but they can all render a most important and a most necessary service to the Swadeshi cause by undergoing a little sacrifice to extend a kind of voluntary protection to Swadeshi industries in their early days of stress and struggle. In course of time, the quality of Swadeshi articles is bound to improve and their cost of production to become less and less. And it is no merit if you buy them when they can hold their own against foreign articles in quality or price. It is by ensuring the consumption of indigenous articles in their early stage, when their quality is inferior or their price is higher, or when they labour under both these disadvantages, that we can do for our industries what Protectionist Governments have done for theirs by means of State protection. Those therefore, who go about and preach to the people that they should use, as far as possible, Swadeshi article only, are engaged in sacred work and I say to them—go forward boldly and preach your Gospel enthusiastically. Only do not forget that yours is only one way out of several of serving the Swadeshi cause. And do not do your work in a narrow, exclusive, intolerant spirit which says—'whoever is not with us is against us.' But do it in the broader, more comprehensive, more catholic spirit, which says—'whoever is not against us is with us.' Try to keep down and not encourage the tendency, which

seems to be almost inherent in the Indian mind of to-day, to let small differences assume undue importance. Harmony, co-operation, union—by these alone can we achieve any real success in our present state.

In this connection I think I ought to say a word about an expression which has, of late, found considerable favour with a section of my countrymen—'the boycott of foreign goods.' I am sure most of those who speak of this 'boycott' mean by it only the use, as far as possible, of Swadeshi articles in preference to foreign articles. Now such use is really included in true Swadeshi; but unfortunately the word 'boycott' has a sinister meaning—it implies a vindictive desire to injure another, no matter what harm you may thereby cause yourself. And I think we would do well to use only the word Swadeshi to describe our present movement, leaving alone the word 'boycott' which creates unnecessary ill-will against ourselves. Moreover, remember that a strict 'boycott' of foreign goods is not at all practicable in our present industrial condition. For when you 'boycott' foreign goods, you must not touch even a particle of imported articles; and we only make ourselves ridiculous by talking of a resolution which we cannot enforce.

One word more and I have done. In the struggle that lies before us, we must be prepared for repeated disappointments. We must make up our minds that our progress is bound to be slow, and our successes, in the beginning at any rate, comparatively small. But if we go to work with firm faith in our hearts, no difficulties can obstruct our way for long, and the future will be more and more on our side. After all, the industrial problem,

formidable as it is, is not more formidable than the political problem. And, to my mind, the two are largely bound together. Ladies and Gentlemen, the task which the people of India are now called upon to accomplish is the most difficult that ever confronted any people on the face of the earth. Why it has pleased Providence to set it before us, why we are asked to wade through the deepest part of the stream—to be in the hottest part of the battle—Providence alone knows. But it is my hope and my faith that we will successfully achieve this task. The situation requires us to devote ourselves to the service of our motherland in an earnest and self-sacrificing spirit. But what can be higher or nobler or holier or more inspiring than such service? In working for India, we shall only be working for the land of our birth, for the land of our fathers, for the land of our children. We shall be working for a country which God has blessed in many ways, but which man has not served so well. And if we do this work as God wants us to do it, our motherland will yet march onwards and again occupy an honoured place among the nations of the world.

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4. THE HON. DR. RASH BEHARI GHOSE.*

TRUE AND FALSE SWADESHI.

The Swadeshi movement seems also to have given great offence to a certain section of the Anglo-Indian community. They have, they say, every sympathy with true Swadeshi, but none with the pseudo-Swadeshism of

*From the Welcome Address to the Calcutta Congress, 1906.

Bengal. Now I confess that, though a lawyer of some standing, not, perhaps, altogether inapt to find distinctions without any difference, I have never been able to discover the line which separates true from false Swadeshi; though we all know the difference between true and false sympathy. It seems that if you call the movement a boycott of foreign goods, you are a traitor to England. But competition with Manchester is not yet treason in the Indian Statute Book. It is true the movement received an impetus from the Partition of Bengal, when we wanted to draw the attention of England to what we regarded as nothing less than vivisection, the crowning act in a reactionary policy steadily pursued for nearly seven years. But what reasonable man can doubt that the real strength of the Swadeshi movement is to be found in our natural desire to nurse our own industries which the Government of India with their free trade principles are unable to protect by building up a tariff wall? Mere boycotting, we know, will not bring happiness or wealth to us, or save our hungry masses from what Mt. Bryan calls the peace of the grave. This can only be done by improving the economical condition of the country so rich in resources of all kinds, by the creation and diffusion of domestic industries and by the investment of local capital in industrial arts in which India was pre-eminent at one time, but which have now almost all been killed by Western competition.

THE CRADLE OF NEW INDIA.

The Swadeshi movement is only a prelude to our determination to enter into the great brotherhood of the

trading nations of the West, without, if possible, the eternal struggle between capital and labour, into which Japan has already been admitted. And if you want to know what progress we have made, come with me to the exhibition on the other side of the street, which I hope you have not boycotted, and I will show you what this movement, the implication of which with politics is a mere accident in Bengal from which many of us would gladly dissociate it, has already done for us. A visit to it, I am sure, will fill the heart of every one of you with hope and gladness; for in Swadeshism you see the cradle of a new India. To speak of such a movement as disloyal is a lie and calumny. We love England with all her faults, but we love India more. If this is disloyalty we are, I am proud to say, disloyal. But is there a single Englishman who really thinks in his heart that the material progress of the country will loosen the ties which bind us to England? On the contrary, would it not, by relieving the economical drain on India, bind the two countries closer together?

A MOTIVE POWER.

Swadeshism, I need not remind you, is not a new cult. It counted among its votaries almost all thoughtful men long before the division of Bengal, and found expression in the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition held under the auspices of the National Congress in Calcutta in 1901. It does not, I repeat, mean hostility to anything and everything that is British, but merely the awakening of an industrial life. The Swadeshi movement has been the principal motive power in the

industrial development of the country, and I would remind those who say that Bengal can only talk, that in the course of the present year more than ten lakhs of rupees have been given by Bengalees for the encouragement of technical education. Our young men are now taking in large numbers to industrial pursuits, and are qualifying themselves for their different callings in the national institutions which have been recently opened in Calcutta; but the most promising feature in the movement is that it has brought the masses and the educated classes together, as it promises to the artisan and labourer some mitigation of the chronic poverty in which they are now steeped. And here I must interrupt myself for a moment to point out that the great assistance which has been rendered to us by Government in organizing our Exhibition shows their friendliness to the Swadeshi movement. This action of Government, I am sure, will tend to draw closer the ties which should bind them and the people together; and their co-operation, which has been of the greatest help to us, ought to give food for reflection to those who revile Government in season and out of season. It would perhaps be idle to endeavour to convince men who brood only on the old commercial jealousy of England, which did not a little to kill Irish and Indian industries. But I may be permitted to point out that they forget that in those days a ruling race did not regard itself as subject to the restraints which now govern its relations with a subject race. It is true the ethical code of Plato is not yet the code of the statesman, but it is now generally acknowledged that to impoverish a subject race is not only unwise but morally wrong.

5. SIR VITALDAS DAMODAR THACKERSEY.*

SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

Gentlemen, you will, perhaps, expect me to refer here to the Swadeshi movement, and I hasten to satisfy that expectation. Whatever Bengal might have done or failed to do during the last twelve months she has undoubtedly given an impetus to the Swadeshi idea. All over the country to-day, among young and old, rich and poor, men and women, high caste and low caste, the word "Swadeshi" has become a household word, and the spirit of it too, we may hope, is well understood. Gentlemen of Bengal, on behalf of the whole country, I tender you our hearty thanks for this valuable result, which is wholly due to your enthusiasm in the cause of the motherland. I am not one of those, Gentlemen, who sneer at enthusiasm. Enthusiasm is divine, and without it, even in regard to the industrial regeneration of the country we can achieve but little. You have applied the life-giving spark to the slumbering spirit of Swadeshism in this land, and yours is the honour of concentrating the national mind on the work of industrial development. It is inevitable that in a time of excitement and distress words might be spoken and things done which in calmer moments might not commend themselves to our sober judgment. I am referring solely to the effect of your enthusiasm and self-sacrifice on the whole of India, even among those who did not and could not see eye to eye with the Bengalis on the question of partition and the subsidiary questions connected with it.

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* From the Presidential Address to the Calcutta Industrial Conference, 1906.

AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY.

Gentlemen, we have got the Swadeshi idea firmly implanted in the national mind. We have now to consider what our programme should be for the near future. We cannot do everything at once. Industries are not created in a day. We should profit by the experience of other countries which have grown industrially great, and, in the pursuit of the Swadeshi ideal, we should follow the methods which have proved successful in those countries. I admit that in one important respect the conditions with which we are best are somewhat different from those prevailing in countries which have come to the front as centres of the world's great industries. We cannot look to Government to give us any direct help in the shape of protective import duties or bounties such as have been given in other countries. But, short of that, Government can do much, and I am satisfied that they are not likely to revert to the old *laissez-faire* policy in respect of our industrial advancement. Although, as I have said, we cannot do everything at once, our plan of action should be drawn up with a view to future developments in all directions. When you view the industrial situation, Gentlemen, the first thing that forces itself on your attention is the primitive condition of the premier industry of the country—I mean the agricultural industry—the industry which supports more than 65 per cent. and, according to Lord Curzon, 80 per cent. of our population, and on which we must depend for our subsistence as well as for the raw material of our chief manufacturing industries. So

long as agriculture is carried on in the present primitive fashion, no great industrial improvement need be expected in India. Even protectionist Economists admit that until the agricultural industry has reached a high state of development, manufacturing industries cannot be largely brought into existence even with the support of the State. In England itself the era of manufactures was immediately preceded by a period of extraordinary agricultural development, due mainly to the enterprise of the great landlords. I rejoice to see that the greatest landlord of all in India, namely, Government, are recognising their duty and have taken and are taking measures to spread a scientific knowledge of agriculture by means of colleges, experimental farms, and such other measures, to free cultivation from insect pests, and to introduce new and valuable forms of the agricultural industry. The work done in connection with rubber cultivation, if it lead to the tree becoming naturalised in India, would add materially to the national income, as the demand for rubber all over the world is immense. While Government are waking up to their duty, it behoves private landlords, like the Zemindars of Bengal, who correspond to the landed aristocracy of England, to devote their time and resources towards developing their industry. Gentlemen, if the Swadeshi spirit inspires these great landed magnates to introduce science and system into agriculture so as to make it yield the highest profit of which it is capable, then believe me you will be in sight of large manufactures, financed, controlled, and worked by our own countrymen. It is a common fallacy to suppose that the arena of great

achievements lies far afield of our everyday lives. It is never so. Few people talk of the Swadeshi movement in connection with agriculture. But really that is the industry which most requires the application of the true Swadeshi spirit, for on it are based all our possibilities of manufacturing industries. If the mill industry flourishes in Western India, it is because the Guzerathi is acknowledged on all hands to be the most efficient cultivator of cotton in India.

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6. THE HON. MD. YUSUF KHAN BAHADUR.*

To-day is a day of mourning, of sadness and of sorrow, but it is also a day of rejoicing. The side issues of great measures are sometimes even more important than those which directly flow from them. So it is with the Partition of Bengal. The impetus which it has communicated to the national life of Bengal, and I may say of the whole of India, is manifesting itself in various directions, it is no exaggeration to say that we are witnessing the birth of a new epoch. Out of the ashes of the Partition agitation has sprung up into renewed life the Swadeshi movement with its immense possibilities of development.

The Swadeshi movement had been with us before the Partition, and I venture to think that it will stay with us, though partition should be modified or withdrawn. But it is the Partition of Bengal which has given it the new impulse and made it the cult and creed of a whole nation. It is not merely industrial or

* From the Presidential Speech at the Public Meeting held at Calcutta, on the 16th October, 1906, to protest against the Partition.

even political in its scope; it is an all-comprehensive movement in which are concentrated the many-sided energies of our growing community. It is an expansion of the Congress movement. The Congress movement brought the educated classes throughout India upon the same platform. The Swadeshi has brought the masses and the classes together and has supplied them with a common object and a common principle of action. It is founded upon love of country and not upon hatred of the foreigner. Swadeshism implies that we must support indigenous arts and industries to the exclusion of foreign arts and industries. We have many things to learn from foreign nations, but so far as practicable we must use indigenous articles and support indigenous industries. Call it boycott if you like, (I myself don't like this word) but it is the essence of Swadeshism. The triumphs of Swadeshism are engraved deep in the pages of the year's history. We have purchased the Bengal Luxmi mill, and it is being managed and controlled by us: and from all that I have been able to gather, it has a prosperous future before it. The industrial stimulus is unique in its scope and intensity. We wanted 12 lakhs for the mill. We got 18 lakhs. The whole country is vibrating with the industrial impulse. The fly shuttle is at work everywhere; the handloom industry has received an unwonted impetus: similar industries are starting up with marvellous luxuriance; the craze for service has received a wholesome check; the leaders are organizing an Insurance Company, and before the 16th October next I venture to predict that we shall have a Bank of our own and an Insurance Company owned and

controlled by us; further I should not be at all surprised if one or two mills were also started in the meantime. But Swadeshism as I have already said is an all-comprehensive movement. It has imparted a gratifying impulse to our educational activities. Its achievements in the educational sphere are notable. The inauguration of the National Council of Education and of the Bengal Technical Institute marks an era in our history. For the first time a tangible effort is made to take in our own hands the technical education of our countrymen and to conduct general technical education upon national lines and in accordance with national prepossessions and associations. Thanks to the public-spirited donors whose liberality has given birth to these Institutions for which I venture to predict a great future. There is no mistake but that we are witnessing a silent transformation going on in the bosom of society which will revolutionize our conceptions and with it our social system. The industries and not service must be the watchword of the future; and the infant institutions whose birth we have welcomed will train our youth in the new ideals and qualify them for the new duties of an awakened industrial and national life. The hopes of the future are indissolubly blended with these national educational institutions which, I trust, as the years roll on, will draw in an increasing number of the youth of our country.

There can be no gainsaying the fact that we are now arrived at a period of strenuous action, of hard struggle with the forces that have hitherto impeded our progress. But the times are propitious. The consciousness is

growing upon us that the future of our country depends upon ourselves.

The divine hand that leads nations to the goal of their appointed destinies is visibly working among us, and the time has therefore come when we, Mohamedans, Hindus, and all should merge ourselves in a common fraternity and follow the divine lead. They are men of little faith, indeed, who hear not the divine call—the call, that tells them bravely to hope, and bravely to work, at this—the supreme hour of our national life. The secret of a nation's success has ever been the spirit of Swadeshi ; for Swadeshi embodies in one word all the forces of love and hope, work and self-sacrifice applied to the one sole object of one's country's good. For him who is truly imbued with the spirit of Swadeshi there is no fear. His house is built upon a rock; his love and faith will keep him whole for ever and for ever. It is this love and hope for our country that shall save us, help us to grow into manhood and strength, even though for a time our steps may stumble and the path may look wearisome and long. Let us, therefore, be Swadeshi at all costs, Swadeshi in our ideals, Swadeshi in our methods. The question of preserving and starting national industries almost wholly absorbed our attention and energies during the last 12 months and it is well that it was so. We have begun well. Let us persevere in our path. But the industrial Swadeshi cannot, and must not, stand alone. It would require to be supported by the united energies of the rising and coming generations. We require to build up a new type of education for the future workers of our country. We have to develop in our young men, a

stronger manhood, and a loftier and healthier ambition and tone of life. Not self nor even the family, but the country first and the country last—such should be the divine "diksha" for every young man who should come under the dispensations of the new education that we have inaugurated, and which we mean, under divine guidance, to lead to a glorious consummation. The educational Swadeshi has but just begun its career and its High Priest is our venerable leader, Mr. Gooroo Das Banerjee, whose masterly exposition of the need of national education under exclusively national control at the great public meeting at the Town Hall, held on the 14th August last, shall ever rank and deserves to rank as an historic manifesto in favour of such education at a stirring period of Indian national history. The educational Swadeshi, then, must be taken in hand in a more earnest and resolute fashion than it has hitherto been done. For the nation must build up its own manhood and a new race of men will have to arise whose view of life shall not be limited by the prospects of service, or of emoluments in the gift or at the disposal of the Government. For with these the future of our country rests and it follows that a new style of education will have to be evolved which will fit these men not only to earn their livelihood but which will also qualify them for a career of life devoted to the country's good. Love of country and an anxious spirit to serve her, should have to be instilled into the mind of the student—as in Japan—even from his boyhood; and his studies should be so ordered and conducted as to have not merely an intellectual, but also a moral aim.

7. MRS. ANNIE BESANT.*

So much confusion exists in so many minds just now as to the real meaning and objects of the Swadeshi movement, and so many attempts are being made to turn it to a temporary political purpose, that it is the duty of those who have been working in it for many years, and who realise its permanent value, to do their utmost to keep it on its proper lines and to preserve it for its proper purposes. Many agitators, who have hitherto been indifferent to the movement, and who have themselves been foremost in using foreign goods and in despising home-made, are now seeking to capture the movement and to turn it into a political weapon. In order to do this more effectually, they attack and abuse those who have steadily urged its importance to the welfare of India, and make the ludicrous attempt to represent themselves as the promoters of the movement and its previous workers as its enemies. Unfortunately, even the Government is to some extent deceived by them, and is inclined to regard the movement as seditious, whereas up to this time it had looked on it favourably. There is the more need for the quiet and steady workers for India's welfare not to allow themselves to be driven into a mistaken aloofness, but, in all loyalty and with perfect good-will, to continue the propaganda of Swadeshism, as an economic necessity for Indian prosperity.

No country can escape severe poverty, if it has but one industry, and that industry, agriculture, and even that agriculture of a too narrow kind. Slowly and steadily

* From the *Central Hindu College Magazine.*

India has been losing the arts, crafts, and industries, which once enriched her people. Her handicraftsmen, perfected by hundreds of generations, are being starved out for lack of customers to buy their products. In the desperate attempt to save their dwindling trade, those that remain have copied bad Western models, and have striven to produce cheap and worthless goods to tempt "globe trotters" into buying their wares. The cheapness is but apparent, for the work has become tenth rate, the artistic goods vulgar and ill-finished, the cloths of little wearing value. A man buys a few cheap cloths every year, instead of a couple that last him for many years, and the prices of the "cheap" cloths added together are larger than the price paid for the good ones. Driven out of their own crafts by lack of customers, the craftsmen have betaken themselves to the one possible industry open to them—agriculture. Already overcrowded, it becomes more overcrowed still. The balance of industries is disturbed, ryot and craftsman no longer support each other, and, when a bad year comes, the impoverished ryot and the artisans turned into cultivators are all engulfed in the yawning abyss of famine.

For all this, Swadeshism is the remedy, and hence we cannot afford to renounce it because some people are trying to use it for local instead of national, for political instead of economic, purposes. Bengal is but a single province, however important, and all the rest of India is not to be left to economic decay because Bengal is temporarily disturbed. Let us all work quietly on, as we have been doing for years past, steadfastly pressing to the goal.

Our best C. H. C. Students have been inspired with the idea of Swadeshism for a long time, and the Committee has been exerting a gentle pressure in that direction. It has been trying to induce the boys to adopt a distinctive Indian dress, instead of the hybrid English costume which so many of them affect. At last this gentle pressure has taken effect, and in December the Boarders petitioned the Committee to sanction anew the dress it had already advised. This was at once done, with the proviso that the materials used must be Swadeshi and a large number of boys at once adopted the dress. Arrangements are being made to keep a large supply of Indian-made cloth in stock, and to have a tailor living on the premises, so as to facilitate the general adoption of the selected dress. On formal occasions a turban is to be worn, of very light yellow; in general, any Indian headdress may be worn, turban or cap, or the boy may be bareheaded, in Bengali fashion. The coat is to be the long one, coming well below the knees, as used by the higher classes in these provinces, or the chapkan, and is to be of Indian-made cloth, bluish grey in winter, white in summer. White pyjamas or pants are to be worn with it. In the house, dhoti and shirt will be worn. One of our teachers is taking interest in the improvement of the handlooms used in the Benares weaving trade, and we shall have weaving taught in our Technical Institute. So it may be that, presently, good, cheap, handmade cloth may be available from our own looms.

Other Colleges and Schools might take similar steps, and thus help forward the Swadeshi movement in the most practical manner. If, in addition, they will

encourage some of their best students to take up industrial pursuits instead of crowding into law and Government service, they will make Swadeshism a success, and People and Government will alike rejoice.

Those who are circulating the statement that I am opposed to the Swadeshi movement because I protected our students against unwise advice, might do worse than read the following, published in 1895, in a lecture entitled: "The means of India's Regeneration." After various other suggestions, I said :

The next point is the building up of the entire Indian nation, by the encouragement of national feeling, by maintaining the traditional dress, ways of living and so on, by promoting Indian arts and manufactures, by giving preference to Indian products over foreign. Now this is a point which really goes to the very root of Indian revival. Do not undervalue the importance of sentiment, and do not try to do away with everything which differentiates India from other lands ; rather strive to maintain the immemorial customs and follow the immemorial traditions, instead of trying to look as little Hindus as possible as many of you are inclined to do. It is true, of course, that these are outside matters, but they have a very real effect on the generation and maintenance of national feeling.

And this leads me to the next point ; namely, that it is the bounden duty of every patriotic Indian to encourage Indian art, Indian manufactures and Indian labour ; and not to go across the seas to bring here endless manufactured articles, but to give work to his own people.

Let all encourage Indian manufactures and arts, and use Indian-made goods in India. Indian art has gained a name all over the world because of its beauty and artistic finish, and why should men who have such art on ther own soil, why should they go and buy the shoddy productions of Birmingham and Manchester, why should they cast aside the labour of their own countrymen, why should they purchase foreign goods instead of home-made, and encourage bad art instead of good? There is really no excuse for leaving Indian National Art to perish, for this is an important thing in a nation's well-being, and especially the encouragement of all those forms of art which depend upon the delicacy of the human faculty, refine the people at large and increase the material progress of the nation. Why, if you take some of the foreign manufactured goods and compare them with the Indian, what do you see? You find, that in the Indian, the colours are most delicately graduated and blended giving an exquisite softness of shading to the Indian carpet, and this is the result of generations of physical training in the sense of colour; while in the carpet of foreign manufacture, it is harsh and crude, and there is no need to print upon it, "Manufactured in Germany" for you have only to look at its colouring to know it is not Indian. You are therefore injuring your own beautiful national art by using inferior goods of foreign make, and extinguishing Indian trade by continuing to encourage foreign goods, to the impoverishment of India and to the throwing of Indians out of employment. Look also at the large prices the people in England are ready to pay for Indian

art objects. I urge you therefore to support your own labourers, thus strengthening your manufactures and arts, and laying a sound material foundation for national wealth. The strengthening and developing of these Indian industries is the work to which *vaishyas* should devote themselves, for that is the work essentially belonging to their caste, on which of old the material welfare of the nation hung. You would also have coming to you constant demands from foreigners who purchase Indian goods because of their beauty. And we must press upon wealthy men that instead of sending to England to buy costly furniture, they should spend their money at home in encouraging the arts which are around them in their motherland, so that a public opinion may be formed which would cry "shame" upon a Prince or Rajah, who filled his palace with foreign articles instead of having them produced in his own country, so that his wealth should add to the comfort and happiness of the people and strengthen the national prosperity. These would awaken a sense of nationality, filtering down from the higher to the lower, regenerating the nation, and striking its roots deep down into the physical lives of the people, uniting all India, binding all India together closer and closer and closer, till her oneness is realized, till Indians recognize in themselves a people.

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8. RAJAH PEARY MOHUN MUKERJEE.*

The desirability of using country-made goods and the necessity of improving indigenous industries and

* Reprint from the *Indian Review.*

introducing new industries not only to meet demand but also to create new avenues of employment for men of the middle classes have been felt for several years. The "Association for the advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education" owed its foundation to that feeling. Within a period of little more than two years, the Association has succeeded in doing an amount of useful work which entitles it to the snpport of all well-wishers of the country. Although the Swadeshi movement received a strong impetus from the feeling roused by the Partition of Bengal, it is not an outcome of that measure. The great obstacle in the way of working out the principle to the desired extent is the poverty of the people and the disinclination on the part of large landed proprietors and capitalists to invest money in furtherance of it. Some mischief, too, has been done by giving it the character of a *quasi* political movement. It is necessary for its success that the movement should be divested of that character and treated purely as an attempt to promote self-reliance and to improve the condition of the people. The difficulties in the way of success are great and they would become insuperable unless we content ourselves at the outset with a modest programme. Industrial training and manufacturing skill have usually a long infancy; one should not despair at want of success in the beginning. What we want most at the present moment is the extensive cultivation of cotton, the improvement of handlooms, the introduction of machinery for spinning and weaving, the manufacture of enamelled ware and the manufacture of small hardware and safety matches.

9. SISTER NIVEDITA.*

[OF RAMAKRISHNA-VIVEKANANDA.]

It is necessary to say, and I feel that it cannot be said too strongly, that in the Swadeshi movement the Indian people have found an opportunity to make themselves respected by the whole world. For the world respects that which shows that it is to be feared, and the one thing that is feared by all is strong, intelligent, and united action. We conquer a single elephant with ease. But where is the man who would attack a herd? The note of manliness, and self-help is sounded throughout the Swadeshi movement. There is here no begging for help, no cringing for concessions. What India can do for herself, that she will do. What she cannot at present do for herself will be considered hereafter.

To go deeper, it is the *duty* of the Indian people to refuse to the very utmost of their power to participate in that conspiracy of modern trade by which their own country and their own people are being impoverished in an accumulating ratio. Political exigencies do not create this duty. But political exigencies make it possible to bring it home to consciences that would otherwise have been difficult to touch, and by the force of common effort, to put new hope and enthusiasm into even the oldest workers. And there is no reason why the movement should fail in India. The fact that America could not maintain her own industries without a high protective tariff, the fact that no Swadeshi movement resting on a purely moral and voluntary basis, could possibly succeed in any European

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* From the *Indian Review.*

country is no argument against the success of such a movement amongst ourselves. To begin with, the man who has a choice of weapons by which to make his strength felt, may be indifferent to a particular kind, but the situation changes when that is all he has. His whole power of resistance, his whole impulse of self-preservation, is then concentrated on its use. And the Swadeshi movement is all we have. In Western countries, moreover, there is a certain minimum line of comfort, below which people cannot go. But with us, there is no such line. The Indian power to abstain is without a limit. But there is even more in our favour. For, it cannot be denied, that while Eastern peoples have hitherto shown themselves to be weaker than Western in certain kinds of co-operation and self-defence, they have, throughout the whole course of human history, proved themselves vastly stronger in ability to unite for the affirming of a given idea, in self-surrender to a moral impulse, in the power steadily to endure all the discomfort and deprivation or refusal for the sake of right. Thus, the whole history of India fits the Indian people for a struggle in which there is no force to uphold the *Dharma* against the temptations of self-indulgence, of comfort, and of individual selfishness save that of the human will and the human conscience. It may be that no other modern country could succeed in this ordeal. Yet, even that would not condemn the holy land to fail. The Indian people have heard, so far, of nothing but their weaknesses. The time has now come when they should meditate on their own *strength*, and proceed to prove it. What about the wealth of self-control and self-direction, handed down by generations of

austere and clean-living ancestors, and put out to interest in the steady routine of Hindu piety, day after day, and year after year? Besides, is it true that mankind always does the cheap thing? Is the human will really like water, always to be carried to the lowest available level, by its own momentum? If this had been so, how should we explain that great transition, by which Hindus once upon a time, ceased to eat beef? They were accustomed to the food, and liked it. It was convenient to kill cattle and feed a household, in times of scarcity. But an idea of mercy and tenderness, aided by the permanent economic interests of the civilisation, came in, and to-day, where is the Hindu who will eat beef? The Swadeshi movement is the cow-protecting movement, of the present age. There will yet come a time in India when the man who buys from a foreigner what his own countryman could by any means supply, will be regarded as on a level with the killer of cows to-day. For assuredly, the two offences are morally identical.

Again, if it were true that man always took the easiest course, what society could ever hope to rise out of savagery? All our higher instincts, like cleanliness, refinement, love of learning, have been built up of refusals to go to the easy way to take the cheaper of two results. Rather, is it true to say, that man is man in virtue of his inherent power to curb his grosser appetite and will, in favour of some finer and more remote purpose. Man is man in proportion only as he does *not* live the blind instinctive life of his first impulse, his immediate convenience, his individual self-interest, but a higher life of struggle against these primitive desires and their su-

persession by others which are subtler, less self-regarding, and further reaching. It is precisely in a matter like the keeping of the Swadeshi vow that the Indian people, especially, can find an opportunity to show their true mettle. Their civilisation looks meager enough and poor enough, beside the luxury and complexity of that of the West. But if it, with all its bareness, should prove to contain unsuspected moral potentialities, if it should hide a power, unknown to others, of choosing right at any cost, then which will force the acknowledgment of its superiority, the magnificence of Europe, or the poverty of the mother-land ?

If we are told that no people will voluntarily buy in a dear market when they might buy in a cheap, we answer : *this may be true of Western peoples, educated in a system of co-operation for self-interest, and, at the same time, it may be untrue of the Indian nation, educated in a system of co-operation for self-sacrifice.*

I have spoken of this as a struggle on behalf of *Dharma.* But is this true ? Is the Swadeshi movement actually an integral part of the National Righteousness ? The Mother-Church at least, has spoken with no uncertain voice. Like a trumpet-call has gone forth the Renewal of Vows at the Kalighat, in Calcutta. Throughout the whole country has been heard the fiat issued at Puri. Henceforth it will be held sacrilege to offer foreign wares in worship. Here and there we learn of personal sacrifice, such as that of the poor *purohits* in the Eastern districts, who volunteered to offer only *gumtchas*, or coarse towels, during the recent *Puja*, in cases where country cloth

could not be had in the ordinary quantity, though to do so meant a year of poverty for them. But there is human proof forthcoming, also. In the commercial quarter of Calcutta, as soon as the Boycott began, it was found that the cry of "Pick-pocket!"—hitherto, alas, of hourly occurrence on the parchments of the Burra Bazar—was no longer heard. It had actually become unfashionable for small boys to be constantly subjected to the harassing attentions of the police, and the jail as a school for our children was falling out of use! On investigation the merchants concluded that the dexterous fingers of the little folk were now busily employed in rolling the leaf-cigarettes, or country *biras*, that had superseded the English.

During the National Celebration of the 16th of October, a Bengali Mahommedan was heard addressing a crowd of his fellows. "Brothers," he was saying, "a while ago, we could not earn four annas a day. You know that a man had to steal for his opium, and how many of us spent eight months of every year in prison, while our women ate outside their homes! But now, how everything is changed! Ten annas a day, with comfort and decency. No more stealing, no more prison, and our women cook for us and for themselves!" Of Calcutta it may be said that in all directions small industries have sprung up like flowers amongst us. Here are whole households engaged in making matches. Somewhere else, it is ink, tooth-powder, soap, note-paper, or what not. There, again, is a scheme for pottery, or glass, on a more ambitious scale. And this, without mentioning the very staple of the country, its cotton weaving. Where before were only

despair and starvation, we see to-day glad faces, and feel an atmosphere of hope.

Again, where people are habitually below the line of proper feeding, the first sign of a wave of prosperity must be the appearance of more food-shops. And in the Indian parts of Calcutta, these greet the eye on all sides, with a more varied assortment of better foodstuffs than of old. Hope has come to the people. A chance of self-help has dawned upon them. And we may lay a wager that when that season arrives, the plague returns will show how hopeless is the siege laid against the citadel of a higher comfort. For the truest hygiene lies in being well nourished. The best medicine is sufficient food.

Now what does all this mean? Could there be anything more pathetic than the joy of a confessedly criminal class at the cessation of a need for crime? In Europe, we have to deal with men who will not work, and commit crime, it is said, for the love of it. But can this be said of our "little brothers" of the Indian lower classes? Surely, if thereby one could give an opportunity to such sweetness and honesty and childlike purity of heart, as have revealed themselves through the unconscious lips of a Mahommedan workman, if one could thereby protect them, and aid them in their struggle off and up, one might be glad oneself to commit a thousand crimes and steep one's own soul in the lake of fire for ever. Oh voice of the Indian People, voice of the downtrodden, voice of the ignorant and helpless, speak louder yet, that we, your own flesh, may hear your cry, and know your innocent gladness, and join our hands and hearts with

yours, in a common suffering and a common love. If it be true that by an attitude of rigid self-control we can help to turn jail-birds into honest men, give to children, who are now forced into dishonesty by the poverty of their homes, an education in labour, and a sufficient provision for life, bring food to the starving, and hope to the despairing, and finally strengthen the people to withstand the attacks of disease, is there any question as to the *Swadeshi tapasya* being *Dharma*? Let none talk nonsense about other lands! On Indian men and women is laid the responsibility of caring for the *Indian* poor. And let there never be forgotten the curse of the Gita on the man who does another's duty instead of his own. "Better for a man is his own duty, however badly done, than the duty of another, though that be easy. *The duty of another leads into great peril.*" Let Manchester go! Let London go! It is for the Indian People to do *their own duty*.

But let us turn to the rewards of this *tapasya*, if successfully carried out. First we must understand that no work was ever wasted. Every vibration of struggle brings its own result. When enough force has gone out, victory is the return. Ultimately, there is no such thing as defeat. A clear will frustrated, only becomes the clearer. Loss becomes then nothing but a gain delayed. Again, victory depends only on effort, never on talk All India is watching to-day the struggle that is going on in Eastern Bengal. Scarcely a word appears in the papers, yet the knowledge is everywhere. The air is tense with expectation, with sympathy, with pride in those grim heroic people and their silent struggle to the death, for their Swadeshi trade. Quietly, all India is assimilating thei

power. Are they not a former people engaged in a warfare which is none the less real for being fought with spiritual weapons? But let him who stands in the path of right beware! Clearer and clearer grows the will unjustly thwarted. Sterner and sterner become they who are taught to depend on their own strength, and in all history there comes an hour when the merciless man trembles, and cries out himself on the mercy of God, to find it gone!

The first result of faithfulness to Swadeshi is then the power to be more faithful still. Here we find the value of our difficulties. It is only a fool or a coward who tamely submits to opposition. The manly man feels that nothing else is so effective in forcing him to keep the fires of his own enthusiasm ablaze.

But the second result is much more tangible. The movement to-day is only in its initial stage. It cannot be allowed to end till it has stopped the whole of the commercial drain upon the country. Now if the impoverishment of India is a matter of the amount of annual drain put out at compound interest which it is, it follows that the amount saved by the Swadeshi movement, so long as the level gained is maintained, is turned into *prosperity at compound interest.* Every pice circulated in India represents a value periodically added, in an accumulating ratio, to the Indian soil. If the Swadeshi movement, then, can only be adhered to with firmness, we may even begin to hear, from the politicians of the Congress of an economics of hope, instead of an economics of despair!

What, then, of the difficulties of the Swadeshi movement? Apart from political opposition, which is, as has been said, rather a spur than otherwise, it has several serious obstacles to overcome. Among these I do not count that slight ebbing of interest which comes sooner or later in some degree to all things human, when the first eagerness of the multitudes is overpast. On the whole, this movement is rooted so deep in the trained habits of our women and our priests, that the tidal ebb is an extraordinarily small factor in the sum of action. And the whole of this is to be taken up and eliminated later, when the advance of the sea upon the land shall wash away the very shores themselves. No, the serious difficulties of the Swadeshi movement lie in the two great fields of Production and Distribution. The obstacle offered by insufficient production is understood by all of us. Indeed, it has been the strong and spontaneous union of efforts to bring production up to the required level, in which has lain the dawning hope and joy of all the workers. In Distribution, however, we have a problem equally refractory to solve. For even when we know that a certain article is made in the country, we do not yet know where to obtain it. Or the shop at which it can be bought is apt to be inaccessible, or insufficiently supplied. The first Soap Factory started in Calcutta formed a notable exception to this rule. The sale of this soap was organized with as much care as its manufacture, with the result that it was immediately obtainable in the small quantities required for household use, at plenty of well known places in Calcutta. Its success, therefore, was great and immediate. The

same is not the case, however, with jams and chutneys, with Hindu biscuits, with ink, matches, note-paper, and other equally necessary commodities. Indeed, if the opportunity of purchasing some of these were a boon conferred on the consumer at as much sacrifice to the manufacturer as parting with a trade secret, it could hardly be more effectually withheld! Now this is extremely natural. It is only what was to have been expected. The channels of distribution, and the small shops, —which are the *real* distributing centres in every city,— have been so long in the hands of the foreign trade, that they require to be re-captured now, for their own. *Above all these small shops must be captured by the Swadeshi.* For they take, to whole quarters, the place which the housewife's store-room plays to the family-mansion. The four-anna shop, or the four-pice shop, is the store-room of the poor. There the school-boy buys his ink, his stationery, and his pencils. There the housewife stops, on her road from the river, to purchase a gift or a utensil. It is here that our own soap, ink, paper, matches, toys and the rest must be made to assail the eye in all directions. A place in the shop-window is the best advertisement. And only when this state of affairs has been brought about, can the Swadeshi movement really penetrate beyond the palace and the temple, into the remotest corners of villages and huts.

For this to be done, it will be necessary, either, that each small industry which is started shall employ an agent for the special purpose of attending to the distribution of its particular product, or that each town shall form a Swadeshi Committee, to keep a register of all

industrial undertakings, and of the shops at which the products can be found, and also to promote the sale of Swadeshi, rather than Bideshi articles at the local shops. There is so strong an inclination in this direction all over the country, that a little organized propaganda, and a little well directed effort, will go a long way in this direction. But we must be prepared to *sustain* those efforts. The system of commercial credit is such that the shops must be assisted as far as possible to disentangle themselves from the foreign trade, and this will take time, patience, and a deeper enthusiasm than a movement can show.

There is, however, another difficulty, which makes the organization of such *bureaus*, and their issuing of lists of approved shops, necessary. This lies in the practice of trade forgery. Several articles have already appeared on the market, bearing marks and labels which have been affixed in India, while the goods themselves are of foreign make. To publish the names of these would, perhaps, constitute a libel. Moreover, the offence will become more common. Obviously, the only way to defeat the fraud is by the publication of whitelists, under the authority of trusted leaders of the Swadeshi movement. These leaders themselves, further, must be personally cognisant of the source of every article for which they vouch. It is our own fault if we cannot overcome so obvious a device as this. It *can* be overcome, but to do so needs patience and forethought.

The clear sight that shows us where to strike, and the strong love of our own people, the helpless, "the little children" of the Mother-land, that is to make every blow tell,

these, and these only, are the conditions that we want. Having these, we cannot fail. And we shall not fail. For all the forces of the future are with us. The Swadeshi movement has come to stay, and to grow, and to drive back for ever in modern India the tides of reaction and despair.

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10. MR. LALA LAJPAT RAI.*

It is commonly supposed that there are two sides to the Swadeshi movement, one, the political and the other the economic. Pure Swadeshi, as some of the Anglo-Indians choose to call it, is an economic movement and they profess to have a great sympathy for the same. Boycott of foreign-made goods is held to be a political weapon upon the uses and ethics of which there is a great divergence of opinion. The Anglo-Indian can see nothing but mischief in it. In their opinion it is morally wrong, politically pernicious and economically unsound and impracticable. But there are a number of Europeans and Americans who see nothing pernicious in it and consider it to be not only a perfectly legitimate weapon but a very powerful and effective one to bring pressure upon any imperial race having commerce as its principal business. Amongst the Indians themselves different classes of people look at it from different points of view. First, there is that class who can never see differently from their Anglo-Indian patrons. The opinions of this class do not count for much and need not be considered at all. Secondly, there are those, who both by nature and habit are in

* From the *Indian Review.*

favour of *peace at any cost.* They cannot approve of any methods which are calculated to cause the least disturbance in the relations of the different persons and communities, whether Indians or aliens, who are in some way or other interested in India. These good people have great faith in moral suasion and prayers—prayers addressed to the Great Ruler of the Universe as well as to our rulers in affairs mundane. They believe that a combined force of these two is sure to bring about a quiet, bloodless moral revolution in India which will set matters right and remove all the political disqualifications and disabilities from which the Indians at present suffer and which result in so much hardship, oppression and wrong to the people of this country.

Personally I am a believer in the efficacy of prayer as an instrument of religious discipline but it will require a great stretch of imagination and an inconceivable amount of credulity on my part to accept that prayer to the Almighty coupled with prayers to the ruling nation are likely to lead to any practicable results, in matters political and international. Prayers to the Almighty may be useful in intensifying your desire for political liberty and political privileges. Prayers to the ruling nation may be useful to you in proving the *uselessness* of appealing, to the higher sense of man in matters political where the interests of one nation clash with those of another and in driving you to conclusion that human nature, constituted as it is, is extremely selfish and is not likely to change or bend unless the force of circumstances compels it to do so in spite of itself. But beyond this I cannot pin my faith on prayers. The third class of Indians

consists of those estimable gentlemen who believe in the righteousness of the British nation as represented by the electors of Great Britain and Ireland and who are afraid of offending them by the boycott of English-made goods. If there are any two classes into which the British nation can roughly be divided they are either manufacturers or the working men. Both of them are interested in keeping the Indian market open for the sale and consumption of their manufactures. Any movement aiming at the closing or contracting of this market is sure to offend them. They are said to be our only friends to whom we can appeal against the injustice of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. Offend them, say these friends, and you are undone. You loss the good will of the only class who can help you and who are prepared to listen to your grievances. But these good friends forget that boycott or no boycott any movement calculated to increase the manufacturing power of India is likely to incur the displeasure of the British Elector. The latter is a very well educated animal, a keen man of business who can at once see through things that are likely to affect his pocket however cleverly they might be put or arranged by those who hold an interest which is really adverse to his. He is not likely to be hood-winked by the cry of Swadeshi minus the boycott because, really speaking, effectively worked and organised both are one and the same.

The Swadeshi aims at the production of those articles at home which are at present imported from abroad. The boycott means the discontinuance of the consumption of those articles not made in this country. So far, then, it

is not likely to be of much use to drop the boycott in order to secure for us the continuation of the friendly attitude of the British elector. But then we may go a step further and maintain that up till now the alleged friendliness of the British Elector has been of no good to us. Past experience shows that they more than once stood between the people of India and some of its more noble-minded Anglo-Indian rulers whenever the latter tried to obtain economic justice for the former. The latter from their knowledge of the growing seriousness of the economic situation in India have now and then made a bold stand for Justice to India against the demands of the British manufacturer, but they have almost always had to give in because the latter proved too strong for them. Here then we are on the horns of a dilemma. To our wrongs the British Elector is indifferent, our rights even if supported by good Englishmen in India they have opposed. The British Elector has no doubt a sympathetic ear to the tales of wrong and oppression that you may carry to England but unfortunately he is too busy and too absorbed in his own affairs to spare any time, to listen to your tales or to take a serious view of them. The burden of the empire is too heavy to be conveniently shifted from the shoulders of a few—magnificently paid for the work—to those of the English people. The struggle for wealth, for luxury is too keen and too intense to leave the latter any leisure or inclination for the study of the ethics of Imperialism. Under the circumstances the sympathy of the British Elector is for the present at least a negligible quantity. The question directly put comes to this ;—are the British prepared to

give us full political privileges in exchange for open markets for their goods? Any attempt to answer this in the affirmative must be put down as chimerical. But even granting that the argument has some force, is it not worth our while to impress upon the Britons at home the enormity of the wrongs inflicted upon us by their representatives here in this country, by supplementing the Swadeshi by boycott? Admitting that Englishmen at home have the power to set matters right how are you to force their attention to the state of things in India except by directly threatening their pockets. The logic of losing business is more likely to impress this nation of shopkeepers than any arguments based on the ethics of justice and fair-play. The British people are not a spiritual people. They are either a fighting race or a commercial nation. It will be like throwing pearls before swine to appeal to them in the name of higher morality or justice or on ethical grounds. They are a self-reliant haughty people, who can appreciate self-respect and self-reliance even in their opponents. It is then for the Indians to decide whether they mean to continue to appeal to them in the name of political justice, fair-play or whether they intend to attract their attention to the existing intolerable condition of things in India by inflicting losses in business and by adopting an attitude of retaliatory self-reliance.

But then there is another class of Indians who tread on more solid ground than any of those spoken of above. This is the class who oppose the boycott on Economic grounds.

Here we feel we are on more substantial ground. Theirs is no plea of expediency, nor does it arise out of fear of the authorities in India or of the British Elector at home. Their warning note has a scientific basis and deserves the most careful and attentive consideration of all patriotic Indians. Whether Free Trader or Protectionist, you cannot dismiss them off-hand nor treat their reasoning with contempt. They may be faddists (a term which in their turn they apply to Swadeshists) but they are neither cowards nor traitors. Speaking for myself I am an out and out Swadeshist and have been so for the last 25 years, in fact ever since I learnt for the first time the true meaning of the word patriotism. For me the words Swadeshi and Patriotism are synonymous though I do not maintain or insinuate that those who are free-traders are not patriots. I advisedly do not say not "Swadeshists," because I am not prepared to say that those Indians who are free-traders are not necessarily Swadeshists. Be it as it may, I am personally inclined to attach the greatest importance possible to the Swadeshi Movement. I look upon it as *the* remedy upon the right and continued use of which depends the alleviation of the sufferings of our country. I regard it as *the salvation of my country.* The Swadeshi ought to make us self-respecting, self-reliant, self-supporting, self-sacrificing, and last not least, *manly.* The Swadeshi ought to teach us how to organise our capital, our resources, our labour, our energies and our talents to the greatest good of all Indians irrespective of creed, colour or caste. It ought to unite us—our religious and denominational differences notwithstanding. It ought

to furnish us with an altar before which we can all stand in the fullest sincerity of our hearts and in the deepest strength of faith to pray for the good of our common motherland, with a determination to stand together and work together. In my opinion the Swadeshi ought to be the common religion of *United India.* But all this notwithstanding, as a practical Swadeshist I want a better understanding of the economic needs and requirements of the country and a practical programme of industrial development based on scientific calculations. As an indication of the lines upon which I shall like this programme to be framed, I cannot do better than quote from a very famed paper from the journal of the Royal Economic Society of London for the month of March 1906, under the heading of 'Protection of Infant Industries.' Discussing the economic effects of a protective tariff the writer remarks:

"We see that when the import of goods is checked the exchanges are affected in a way which tends to raise prices at home; and that this rise continues until importation is again possible, unless such heavy duties are imposed that the country can be cut off both from importation and from exportation, and so become entirely self-contained. We find also in this process the explanation of the fact that the relief offered by a protective tariff is frequently of a somewhat temporary character. For a few months the home producer has the field to himself: then his costs of production gradually rise: at last he finds foreign competition pressing on him once more; and finally he falls back upon the fatal demand for more Protection.

But this—the common course of protection in both the new and the old countries—is not the only possible course in theory. It is caused, so far as I can see, principally by the attempt to do too much at once. Your new country is inclined to be generous to its home manufactures, and to start manufacturing in all lines at once: by so doing it fritters away energy, and spreads expenditure over a wide field which, if concentrated, might produce imposing results.

For, supposing that a new country would consent to do one or two things at a time, its difficulties would probably be far less. If it started, for instance, by attempting to found one textile or one branch of metallurgical industry it could afford to give to its infant for a few years a genuine and important assistance. Gold prices would, of course, still be to some extent affected, but in an infinitely smaller degree than when a dead set is made against all manufactured goods at once. And by concentrating the money which is available on one end instead of dividing it among several hundred, more real progress would indubitably be made. After all, under modern conditions, no industry ought to remain an infant for more than five years; during those years it probably needs more assistance than can easily be given it under a general Protective System: later on, the less help it has the better.

Other important gains could be made—both political and economic—by this system of concentration. In the first place, the opportunities for log-rolling would certainly be diminished. If the system were once established, a most salutary division of the Protectionist forces

would assuredly take place : as it is, the tendency in many countries is for everybody to favour protection on the off-chance that he may make more by it than he loses : on the system proposed everybody would know that only one or two industries were to be protected at a time, and those only for a few years. Again the present certainty that a protective system will last much longer than there is any need for it would be removed. For as only one or two industries would receive help at any one time, all the other industries would combine to reduce that time to a minimum in the hope that their turn would come next."

In my opinion, the leaders of the Swadeshi movement including men actually engaged in business ought to put their heads together and promulgate an industrial pronouncement for the next five years, prepared on the lines indicated in the above extract.

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11. DEWAN BAHADUR K. KRISHNASWAMY ROW.*

It is a matter for sincere congratulation that the whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin is now of one mind as to the necessity of relying entirely on ourselves for the supply of all our needs. The Swadeshi movement is purely economic, and its sole aim is to better our material condition, which, by the verdict of the world, is most deplorable. Any innocent movement may become mischievous by the manner it is conducted. I deprecate

* From the *Indian Review.*

demonstrations of all kinds, as they lead to friction and disunion. The success of the movement depends entirely upon steady co-operation, honest work, and unceasing perseverance. No man with a sense of justice and fairness can find fault with the movement which seeks to improve Indian manufactures. I do not approve of the boycott of foreign goods in the offensive manner in which it has been carried out in some parts of India under the influence of misguided zeal. In the present condition of India, it is impossible to abstain altogether from the use of foreign goods. They can be superseded only gradually by an increased supply of Indian manufactures. A boycott *by deed* is preferable to a boycott by words and exhibition of temper. An unostentatious and steady programme of work, and a rigid adherence to it, under all circumstances, are the best means of securing the object of the movement. I hope that the present movement will not pass away like a cyclonic wave, but would remain in the country, as firmly as the highest peak of the Himalayas.

The first obstacle in the way of the successful working of the movement, is the weakness of the spirit of co-operation which exists among us. We are individually good workers; but we have not yet reached the stage when we can say we are fairly good for co-operative action, without which, progress on the lines of civilized nations, is impossible. The various institutions in the country such as Associations, Clubs, Conference, Benefit Funds, Agricultural Co-operative Societies are slowly improving the co-operative spirit. Signs are not wanting to show that it is becoming strong and effective.

The second obstacle to the success of the movement seems to be that by far the great majority of the commercial and industrial classes are yet to learn the urgent necessity for improvement *on new lines.* They look upon all innovations with extreme diffidence and even despair. Their fear of failure reigns supreme with them. Even those who could afford to lose a few hundred rupees without appreciable injury to their interest, do not venture to make experiments with new methods. The general poverty of the classes and their very limited sources of income have also their depressing influence upon their spirit of enterprise. Actual demonstration of the superiority of modern processes will greatly remove this obstacle. The demonstrations which are being held in Indian exhibitions will, I trust, encourage the classes to adopt the new ways.

The third obstacle is that there is an unwholesome dread that the Indian manufactures will be subjected to taxation and statutory restrictions so as to place them on a par with English goods. The foundation for this dread is the imposition of excise duty on the manufactures of Indian mills, at the instance of cotton merchants of Lancashire. An authoritative declaration of policy not to tax Indian manufactures for the benefit of the foreigner will encourage our small capitalists to turn their serious attention to the improvement of indigenous manufactures. The chief industries to which special attention should be directed are cotton, woollen and leather manufactures. They require considerable expansion and improvement. If the demand which the Swadeshim is creating for Indian articles proves to be steady, the Indian manufacturers

will soon learn to take to improved methods and try to supply all our needs within a reasonable time. Unflagging patriotism and self-respect must keep up the spirit of Swadeshism.

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12. THE HON. MR. HARIKISHEN LAL.*

'Who blew the first Trumpet?' is the latest phase of the Swadeshi movement. That Swadeshi has existed for a quarter of a century at least and that it has recently spread like a wild fire are both true. It is no use denying that the present phase of the Swadeshi is political rather than economical, but now that attention has been called to it and the people have pinned their faith to it it would be useful to enquire whether the political aspect of the Swadeshi would in any way advance the economic question and whether economical Swadeshi is a sound doctrine. Let us first examine the economic question. There are no economic results achieved by merely putting land, labour and capital together. There is the *economic man* at the back of an economic movement, *i.e*, to say, man or men who desire certain results must precede all economic plans, organizations and achievements. This man has been wanting in India and it is only now as the result of economic struggle started since the advent of the British into the country, that he has begun to make his appearance. The *economic Swadeshi* would multiply such people and as such could fulfil a real want of the country. Economics are

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* Re-print from the *Tribune*, Lahore.

not concerned with mere *distribution* and *consumption* but with *production* as well, and viewed in this broad day light, it would appear that the Swadeshi, which confines itself to mere placing of limitation on the *consumption* only is hardly a *sufficient doctrine*; and it cannot possibly proscribe the use of books, machinery, and medicine and surgical appliances leaving aside the Railway Locomotive. A principle, or a doctrine which has obvious limitations must sooner or later give way to necessity: and the present phase of Swadeshi which is to put the negative word *boycott* in a positive form must sound as a defective war cry when the comparative forces are slack, and therefore economists who have the full grasp of the problem in view will not readily endorse the present preachings of the doctrine.

Swadeshi applied to the *distribution* of wealthier commodities is a phase of the problem which has not yet appealed to the patriotic mind of the time and therefore need not be discussed at length. But distribution is a stage not apart and distinct from the stages of Production and Consumption and those who would desire or make the whole problem of wealth Swadeshi must be prepared to meet arguments drawn from facts adverse to the advocacy of Swadeshi Distribution of wealth. This we may call weakness No. 2 in the chain *Swadeshi economics*, the first relating to the exceptions to be made in the supply of necessary and useful commodities above pointed out. Production to be made Swadeshi has also obvious difficulties to contend with, notably the want of *skill*, but in advocating Swadeshi with regard to this part of the science and art of

wealth there is a distinct advantage which should not be lost sight of. It is the protection required by all *infant life* in the early struggles for existence in this world of competition. Human infants require special care, young plants require special attention and covering from the attacks of heat and cold, and the off-spring of animals are also specially looked after. Is this not true of infant organisations and has not the history of the economic development of European countries and of the United States of America made us familiar with the word *protection* and other similar words. Governments, States, and Corporations having interests identical with the *producers* have encouraged them in various ways in the above-mentioned countries and if the Government of the country does not or will not take fostering care in this country of nascent industries the people must devise means for it. Enquiry into the question whether the creation of *demand* by preaching Swadeshi would supply sufficient auxiliary assistance required is a matter to be left for fuller discussion, but it may be presumed that the Swadeshi preaching would make contribution of a share at least and therefore need not be discouraged at all.

To sum up the economic view of the Swadeshi it amounts to this. The preaching, if vigorously carried on, might supply the missing link, that is the *Economic* man. Swadeshi is not at present being applied to Distribution of wealth and as applied to Production and Consumption it has obvious limitation.

As a political force it might do for a time, but real politics are concerned with the golden doctrine of science

and not with the silvery speeches, and whether these speeches and writings might not expose us to unforseen dangers is a phase which the thinking public of the country might take into consideration. A sword is an instrument which will, no doubt, cut, but it requires some force at its back to be effective and if a weak person handles a sharp instrument he stands the chance of being cut by his own weapon.

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13. THE HON. BABU SURENDRANATH BANNERJEA.*

The Swadeshi tide has set in: it is irresistible; it is not in the power of any one to set it back. No, that is impossible. Let our merchants flow with the tide and it is then alone that they will retain that position of affluence and influence which they possess at present. That is my earnest advice to them. I have heard our movement described as "the so-called Swadeshi movement." I have heard it thus described by high officials—one of the highest—not Lord Minto—for His Excellency I have the highest possible respect. I have heard the Swadeshi movement described as "the so-called Swadeshi movement" by high officials and by the representatives of the Anglo-Indian press. I have no quarrel with them. Personally I have none. On public grounds I may have. But when they commit mistakes we are bound to point out their errors. I confess I don't quite uuderstand what is meant

*Speech delivered before the Swadeshi Vastu Pracharini Sabha, Bombay, 1906.

by the expression "the so-called Swadeshi movement." But I may make a guess. What perhaps is implied is that ours is really a political movement masked under an economic guise. If I am right in this interpretation I will say this that the description is both inadequate and misleading. Swadeshism is or, more properly speaking, was, until its more recent developments, a purely economic movement which, in the particular circumstances of our province, received an impetus from political considerations. Swadeshism came into being long before the Partition, long before even Lord Curzon assumed the reins of office. Its existence was ignored amid the tumultuous distractions of our political controversies. While other and more ephemeral movements monopolised public attention, the infant Hercules was growing in strength and stature, laying for itself a rich reserve fund of energy which was to qualify it for its marvellous achievements in the future. The infant Hercules has now grown into years of adolescence and his labours have just begun. I have heard the Swadeshi movement described as being in the domain of economics what the Congress is in the domain of politics. I venture to think it is a good deal more than that. It is not merely an economic or a social or a political movement, but it is an all-comprehensive movement—co-extensive with the entire circle of our national life, and in which are centred the many-sided activities of our growing community. It seems to me as if some beneficient spirit had whispered into the ears of the genius of our motherland this shibboleth of our unity and industrial and political salvation. It is the rallying cry of all India, of her mul-

titudinous races and peoples. It appeals to all—high and low, rich and poor. It is understood by all. The Deccan peasant or the Bengalee rustic may find some difficulty in understanding the merits of a system of representative government. The subtleties of the question involved in the separation of judicial from executive functions may elude the grasp of his untrained mind. But when you tell him that the wealth of the country must be kept in the country, that it is to his advantage that it should be so kept, and that for this purpose he must purchase country-made articles in preference to foreign articles, he opens wide his eyes and ears and drinks in the lesson. A glow of intelligence illumines his features ; hope for the moment chases away the settled melancholy of his countenance, and he recognises that herein lies the solution of what to him is the problem of problems, the removal of the poverty of himself and of his class. He stands by you and salutes you as his deliverer. Gentlemen, fifteen months ago my late lamented friend, Mr. A. M. Bose whose memory you respect and whose name I revere and adore, had a conversation in connection with the partition question with a high official of the Government. That official said to my friend: " Mr. Bose, if the masses were to interest themselves in public affairs, the Government of this country would have to be conducted upon totally different principles." We are resolved to bring the masses and the classes together and to associate them with us in our political agitations. We are resolved to liberalise this great Government and broad-base it upon the foundations of the willing loyalty and the devoted allegiance of the

people. That represents the goal of our aspirations. I desire the Anglo-Indian community to note the fact that the tide of union between the classes and the masses which was set in with such force is a decree from the hands of Almighty Providence. None can resist it. The Congress has brought the educated community throughout the country upon the same platform. Swadeshism will bring the classes and the masses upon the same platform. Swadeshism is of Divine origin. The Swadeshi leaders are humble instruments in the hands of Divine Providence walking under the illumination of His Holy Spirit. Call it superstition, call it fanaticism, reckon us as being among the deluded maniacs of mankind, but you have read the lessons of history in vain if you do not recognise the fact that men working under such a conviction and fortified by such a belief will dare all and do all. That is the spirit which animates us. Being of divine origin Swadeshism is based upon the love of country and not the hatred of the foreigner. I know the statement will at once be challenged. It will be said Swadeshism has accentuated the acerbities of racial antagonism. If it has done so, we are guiltless. We are in no way responsible for it. We have been the persecuted rather than the persecutors. We have suffered, but we have not retaliated. I fail to see wherein the element of racial hatred comes in at all. If you don't choose to purchase an article manufactured by me, does it follow that you hate me. With similar consistency you may say that because you don't choose to eat food cooked by me, therefore you hate me. Absolutely no sort of racial antagonism or strife is involved

in Swadeshism. Further in the domain of emotions, the possession of a particular quality involves the negation of its opposite. Love of justice involves that hatred of injustice. Love of truth involves the hatred of falsehood. Love of the goods of one's own country necessarily involves a dislike—I will not say hatred—of the goods of a foreign country. If there is an element of dislike, are we responsible for it? It is inherent in the very nature of things. Your appeal must be to the Great Creator of this Universe against the necessary and natural order of things. Therefore once again I say that Swadeshism is based upon the love of country. Our object is to popularise the use of indigenous articles, to foster the growth and development of indigenous arts and industries and to safeguard the country against the growing evils of impoverishment. Ours is one of the poorest countries in the world—so poor that there is none to do her obeisance. She is no longer the country which once excited the cupidity of foreign conquerors—a country, whose pristine splendour brought down upon her fertile plains the marauding hordes from the arid steppes of Central Asia. Her days of prosperity are gone—I hope not for ever. Our poverty is accentuated by the drains—the official drain and the commercial drain. The official drain consists of the Home Charges. I may say that until there is a further expansion of the Legislative Councils and we have a potent voice over the public expenditure, the official drain will continue unchecked and undiminished. The commercial drain is a factor which we can grapple with at once. We spend about 50 crores of rupees every year in purchasing foreign articles. In Bengal,

Gentlemen, we spend about 16 crores every year upon the purchase of foreign-manufactured piece-goods. Our population is 8 crores; therefore independently of the taxes which we pay to the British Government we pay a poll-tax of Rs. 2 per head. We are resolved to put an end to this poll-tax. And I ask you to help us to do so. Gentlemen, I fear I have already exhausted your patience. (Cries from all sides of "No, no, go on.") If I have not exhausted your patience at any rate, I am approaching the time when the cock crows and it will be necessary for me to bid you farewell. Swadeshism, as I have observed, is an all-comprehensive movement. In Bengal it has revolutionised our ideals and conceptions. The air is surcharged with the industrial spirit. The craze for service has received a check. The spirit of self-reliance is abroad. We are making an earnest and organised effort to place education general and technical, under national control and conduct it in accordance with national ideals and aspirations. All this represents the trend of things in Bengal. The Bengal of to-day—Bengal after the partition is a very different place from Bengal before the partition. * * * *

In conclusion, I would make an earnest appeal to you once again on behalf of Swadeshism. Gather round the Swadeshi movement and uplift its banner. Carry it from village to village, from town to town and from district to district, spread the glad tiding of great joy throughout the length and breadth of this great Presidency. Swadeshism will save us from famine and pestilence and the nameless horrors which follow in the train of poverty. Take the Swadeshi vow and you will have laid broad and

deep the foundations of your industrial and political emancipation. Be Swadeshi in all things, in your thoughts and actions, in your ideals and aspirations. Bring back the ancient days of purity and self-sacrifice. Restore the *Aryavarta* of olden times when the *Rishis* sang the praises of God and did good to men. All Asia is astir with the pulsations of a new life. The sun has risen in the East. Japan has saluted the rising sun. That sun in its meridian splendour will pass through our country. Oh, prepare yourselves for the advent of that glorious day. Dedicate yourselves with absolute self-denial to the service of your motherland. Let us consecrate ourselves to the service of this great and ancient land. Let all differences be buried, all strifes and animosities allayed, and let the jarring notes of party dissensions be hushed in the presence of the prostrate form of our motherland. Swadeshism does not exclude foreign ideals or foreign learning or foreign arts and industries, but insists that they shall be assimilated into the national system, be moulded after the national pattern and be incorporated into the life of the nation. Such is my conception of Swadeshism. Once again, in the name of Swadeshism, I ask you to take the Swadeshi vow that from this day forward you will devote yourselves life and soul to the service of your motherland, live and die for her—and may God and your country be glorified. "Bande Mataram."

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14. RAI BAHADUR LALA BAIJ NATH.*

I have been asked by the Editor of the *Times of India* to send him a short article on the Swadeshi movement, and I do so with pleasure, for the subject is one in which every well-wisher of the country will always be deeply interested. The last year witnessed an unusual activity in the direction of the encouragement of Indian goods of all descriptions in place of foreign ones, and various were the schemes devised to drive foreign articles out of the Indian market. The zeal has partly subsided and could not have remained at the fever heat it was in 1905, considering the economic condition of our people. But the movement is not all dead. People are still making efforts to make it grow and flourish, and if we now take a calm survey of what has been done during the year and what remains to be done, something good and practical may come out of it. As I said in my paper on the Swadeshi movement contributed to the *East and the West* for November, 1905, the chief essentials of success are (1) that it should not be looked upon from any provincial point of view, nor as a class movement, nor as directed against any particular country or set of people, but as a national movement upon which the economic future of India largely depends, (2) to take a complete stock of what India produces and can produce, and to encourage the former and initiate the production of the latter, (3) to have a complete list of the principal indigenous hand industries of each town and province and start agencies for the sale of products everywhere by both large and small

*Re-print from the *Times of India*.

firms in all parts of the country, (4) to curtail superfluous wants and to adhere to the Indian way of living as far as possible, (5) to enquire into such of the handicrafts of foreign countries as can be adopted in India, and lastly not to pitch the idea too high nor above the level of ordinary human goodness.

A year's experience has only made me adhere to these opinions all the more firmly, and I believe they are shared by most men in the country who have given any thought to the subject. A largely attended conference was held at Benares in December last in which several very interesting papers were read. Its report, which has just been very ably brought out, contains a mine of useful information for the lover of Swadeshi to digest and make use of. The year has also witnessed a large increase in the number of joint stock companies in most parts of the country, notably, in Bombay and the Deccan. These companies are mostly cotton-spinning and weaving companies. There are also other companies for the manufacture of matches, sugar, soap, chrome leather, pottery, etc. Banks and Swadeshi companies have also been started, and the total registered capital of all these concerns comes to about two crores of rupees.

There is thus perceptible progress in the direction of the Swadeshi and if it continues there is hope of our producing in the near future at least a portion of what we have now to buy from foreign markets. No Indian can contemplate with satisfaction the import of about three crores of rupees worth of sugar from Germany and Austria-Hungary, thirty-eight crores worth of

cotton manufactures from Europe, fourteen crores of metals and metal manufactures, two-crores of wines and spirits and half a crore of salt. The last but one is not a necessary article of consumption and the others can be produced in India. There are in addition to these, many smaller articles which drain off crores of rupees from India and which can be either produced by the introduction of better methods even by our present hand industries or the demand for which can be greatly reduced by curtailing superfluous wants.

Who would have thought 25 years ago that India, which had always produced its own tobacco, would be importing 44 lakhs of rupees worth of cigarettes to find their way in even the remotest villages, or glass and glassware worth a crore of rupees to supplant the old artwares of brass and copper, stationery valued at Rs. 37 lakhs, or haberdashery at Rs. 187 lakhs, or umbrellas worth Rs. 33 lakhs or paper worth Rs. 44 lakhs? Does it occur to us how in miscellaneous articles like these we give to foreign countries some twelve and a half crores annually which with a better and greater spirit of enterprise can be produced here even with the materials and artistic talent at command, and the lesson for the practical Swadeshist is to put his shoulder to the wheel and make as many of those things, large and small, as possible and learn to bring upon their manufacture the organised and intelligent supervision of Western countries with the cunning artistic skill of Indian handicraftsmen.

The whole question is one of brains, capital and readiness to face risk as they do elsewhere. The Indian

artisan does not work under the direction of an expert employer because there is none to employ him. An Indian merchant cannot forecast a market because he has not been educated to do so nor can he undertake any risk because to do so means loss of daily bread. The Indian methods of production are the same now as they were two thousand years ago, because knowledge of better methods has not yet been brought within the reach of the producer. The latter can have no division of work because he cannot find money for the purpose. He wastes material and much of his time in manual work which could be done by a less skilled workman because he is both ignorant and poor. It is easy to abuse him and decry his methods, but what has the country done for him? Has any provision been made for having him better educated and placed under more skilled direction? It was remarked by a recent writer in the London *Times* that the difference between a European and Indian industrial organisation might be summed up in the two following sentences: "In Europe industry is directed by business managers who, by temperament and education, have been carefully fitted for the task. In India industry is directed by an illiterate labourer who has to combine the delicate duties of the European business managers with fatiguing manual toil. The industrial army of European is led by skilled officers, the industrial army of India is a mob without guidance."

The great question for India is, how is expert intelligence to be placed in control of Indian industry. To state the proposition more correctly, how is expert intelligence to be created in India? This cannot be done without

having a number of Indian youths regularly trained in large workshops and factories as well as in large business houses both in and out of India. Few Indians possess such concerns, and where they do, self-interest, not to speak of patriotism, requires that they should make it a point of training a number of young men of education in their business. The Government have done well in founding a number of scholarships for technical education out of India. They have also opened a technical class at Roorkee where students will be given both a theoretical and practical training in subjects like electrical engineering, motor cars, ice and sugar making, cotton weaving and spinning. The number of scholarships should be increased both from public and private funds and technical classes opened where they have not yet been opened. A system of commercial education in all Universities, as is now done in England, should be introduced, and for the practical portion of the course arrangements should be made with banking and commercial firms in India to train a number of pupils. Few European business houses now take any apprentice except relations of their own employees. If the Universities introduced this system they might be induced to make their nominees. If these Universities were to give degrees and diplomas for commercial and technical qualification, as they do for literary and scientific courses, India's economic progress would be greatly accelerated. In addition to this workshops should be started by each district board for the training of its artisans, particularly in crafts specially suited to their districts. These boards, which now control primary and secondary education, can devote their

funds to no better purpose than train those whose money they spend to earn a better livelihood. Exhibitions, and shows, both agricultural and industrial, should be annually held in each district, like what we have in parts of the United Provinces. Provinicial exhibitions on larger scales for the display of Indian manufactures and practical demonstrations as to how each of them can be best improved should also be held every year.

The All-India Exhibition held with the Congress every year may be made more useful by paying special attention to showing better methods of production by practical demonstration of various classes of goods made in different parts of the country. This will greatly stimulate the energies of our artisans. Last month I was asked to open a small exhibition at Chaubepur near Cawnpore. The occasion was that of a largely attended Krishna Leela fair held every year. The zemindars of the place this year added a small exhibition of Indian wares, and what was very surprising to find was that in a small village the artisan class produced because of the exhibition, a button making machine capable of making 12 dozens of buttons in a day, and a reeling machine which reeled thread in as little time as the most finished reeling machine would do. The artisan is thus not without skill or desire to improve his methods. Only he has not the encouragement to do better work nor has the capitalist who employs him learnt to bring more scientific supervision over it. In Delhi the tin industry has of late developed so enormously that large quantities of lamps, boxes and hurricane lanterns of all descriptions are made and exported. The artisans work with their old

crude tools after old methods and yet their wares do not compare unfavourably with many an imported one. They are employed by traders who advance them money and deduct it from the work done. But neither the one nor the other are men of any intelligence and therefore there is little improvement. With a few men of education to take up the work, even as it is, perceptible improvement would at once result. The same applies to any other hand industries in Upper India like sugar, wood and metal furniture, pottery and leather which employ thousands of people.

Another thing necessary is the co-operation of the Government with the people in the success of the Swadeshi. The former must learn to invest more capital in trade and manufacture and less in Government paper and landed estates, and cease to look upon service under Government as the goal of their education and be ready to incur risk and face danger in order to advance the national wealth and the Government should encourage them to do so. The cause of Swadeshism is as much the cause of the people as of the Government of India and the policy of encouraging the Indian arts and manufactures so often laid down by the latter cannot be better carried out than by seeing the Indian agriculturist grow two grains of corn where he grows one, the Indian artisan to earn Rs. 30 where he now earns only five or ten, the Indian educated youth to look for securing an independent livelihood like the youth of other countries not merely in the beaten and overcrowded paths of law, medicine or Government service, but in ways which will enrich both him and his country and the Indian capitalist to invest his money not

merely in loans carrying interest, but in more profitable concerns.

15. DEWAN BAHADUR RAGUNATHA ROW.*

I hold that the "Swadeshi Movement" means the observance of the rules that one should buy and use all articles manufactured in this country when they are in quality and price equal to those of foreign articles and not to buy and use the foreigners when they are inferior in quality and dearer in price. It includes all steps that have to be taken to produce such articles, to produce raw materials for their production, to export them only when there is a surplus and not any portion which can be utilized for the benefit of the producer's country; and to improve their quality and quantity. Our agriculture on which nine-tenths of our population depend should be contiderably improved. Our mines of coal, gold, iron and diamonds should be worked by us. These require capital and techincal knowledge and skill. Excessive taxation has deprived us of the first and unsound education given during the last 50 years at great expense of the public funds has taken away or has not given the second. For this state of affairs the rulers are responsible. They are not disposed to admit the patent fact of excessive taxation. They appear to admit that education imparted has been in the wrong direction. To mend it according to their idea it may take a generation at the least. It devolves upon the impoverished people to do what they can to mend matters. They should unite, deliberate and resolve

* From the *Indian Review.*

what means they should adopt for making the land yield more, for developing their industries, for learning the methods employed by successful nations, for gaining information by travels to distant countries, &c.

They should select competent leaders to promote agricultural and commercial undertakings. They should found Agricultural Associations, Co-operative Societies, Commercial Bureaus, Banks, and they should give up their fancy for everything foreign whether in food, drink, cloths, customs or manners. Our youths should learn the arts and sciences with the help of which they may be able to serve their country in various departments of life and become useful in raising its position—by being truthful, active, industrious, enterprising and dutiful when they become men and citizens and custodians of the reputation of their country. This is the stage of life in which the greatest care, prudence, forethought, courage, unselfishness and patriotism have to be exercised. The knowledge of political economy and politics is in this stage of life absolutely necessary. Its use then is an important part of Swadeshism.

Agriculture would give us food and material for clothing. Mining would give us wealth. There is no doubt in my mind that we can produce the finest cotton in the world. The wool of our country can give us material for warm clothing. We can weave by all available means, whether of our country or of foreign countries, best cloths. We can produce raw materials enough for our purposes and to draw the money of other countries by exports, by prudence and sagacity supply our wants to

that extent which would not encourage imports from other countries. All we want is unity, self-confidence, trust in one another, able and honest leaders of industry and enterprise. In short, a desire and determination in each of us to do our duty to our mother country.

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16. ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, C.I.E. I.C.S.*

And now, at the commencement of the twentieth century, we are more resolved than ever not to be beaten in this industrial race. I see in the face of those who fill this hall to-day a strong determination that—God helping—we will work out our own salvation by our own hands. Men educated in English Schools and Colleges in India, men trained in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, have come to share this noble work with practical manufacturers and traders in India. And to-day there is a desire, which is spreading all over India, that by every legitimate means, by every lawful endeavour, we will foster and stimulate the use of our own manufactures among the vast millions who fill this great continent.

Gentlemen, I am drifting into a subject which has raised much angry discussion, when I speak of the Swadeshi Movement. And yet I would not be fulfilling the duty which you have imposed upon me to-day if I passed silently over that subject which is in every man's thought. I speak in the presence of some who are among the leaders

* From the Presidential Address to the Industrial Conference at Benares.

of this movement in Bengal and speak from personal knowledge when I say that these leaders have tried their very utmost to conduct this movement lawfully and peacefully, to the best interests of the people and of the Government. If there have been any isolated instances of disturbance, here and there, we deprecate such acts. On the other hand, if the Government have, in needless panic, been betrayed into measures of unwise repression, deplore such measures. But neither the rare instances of disturbance, nor the unwise measures of repression, are a part and parcel of the Swadeshi scheme. The essence of the scheme, as I understand it, is, by every lawful method, to encourage and foster home industries, and to stimulate the use of home manufactures among all classes of people in India. Gentlemen, I sympathise with this movement with all my heart, and will co-operate with this movement with all my power.

Gentlemen, the Swadeshi Movement is one which all nations on earth are seeking to adopt in the present day. Mr. Chamberlain is seeking to adopt it by a system of protection. Mr. Balfour seeks to adopt it by a scheme of retaliation. France, Germany, the United States, and all the British Colonies adopt it by building up a wall of prohibitive duties. We have no control over our fiscal legislation, and we adopt the Swadeshi scheme therefore by a laudable resolution to use our home manufactures, as far as practicable, in preference to foreign manufactures. I see nothing that is sinful, nothing that is hurtful in this; I see much that is praiseworthy and much that is beneficial. It will certainly foster and encourage our industries in which the Indian Government has always

professed the greatest interest. It will relieve millions of weavers and other artisans from the state of semi-starvation in which they have lived, will bring them back to their hand-loom and other industries, and will minimise the terrible effects of famines which the Government have always endeavoured to relieve to the best of their power. It will give a new impetus to our manufactures which need such impetus, and it will see us, in the near future, largely dependent on articles of daily use prepared at home, rather than articles imported from abroad. In one word, it will give a new life to our industrial enterprises; and there is nothing which the people of India and the Government of India desire more earnestly than to see Iudian industries flourish, and the industrial classes prosper.

Therefore, I sincerely trust that the Swadeshi Movement will live and extend in every Province and in every village in India. There should be Associations formal in every district to extend and perpetuate the movement, and to stimulate the use of country-made cloth and country-made articles, not only in towns, but in rural villages. SuchAssociations should peacefully and quietly extend their operations from year to year, disregarding the jeers of their critics, and braving the wrath of their opponents. Spasmodic and hysterical exhibitions should be avoided, for, as a great English writer remarks, strength consists not in spasms but in the stout bearing of burdens. Mindful of the great work we have to perform, we should work with the calm consciousness of doing our duty towards our countrymen. If we succeed in this noble endeavour, we shall present to the world an instance, unparalleled in the

history of modern times, of a nation protecting its manufactures and industries without protective duties. If we fail in this great endeavour and prove ourselves false to the resolutions we have formed and professed. then we shall deserve to remain in that state of industrial serfdom to other nations from which we are struggling to be free.

SIR ASHATOSH CHAUDHURI, BAR-AT-LAW.*

Secretary to the Bengal Land-holders' Association.

Self-preservation is the first rule of life. Can we live as a nation if we are not Swadeshi? Has not England always been Swadeshi even at our cost? Anyone familiar with the Industrial history of our country knows how our manufactures have been deliberately killed. The campaign began as early as 1769. The Directors in their letter, dated 17th March of that year, sent orders that silkwinders should be made to work in the company's factories, and prohibited from working outside, under severe penalties, by the authority of the Government. In 1823, the following were the duties on piece-goods from India:

On calicoes. £3 6s. 8d. per cent, on importation and if used for home consumption a further duty of £68, 6s. 8d.

Muslins, 10 per cent, on importation, and if used for home consumption a further duty or £27, 6s. 8d.

Coloured goods, £3. 6s. 8d. per cent, only for exportation, and in that session a new duty of 20 per cent. was put on the consolidated duties.

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*From the Presidential Address delivered at the *Pubna* Provincial Conference.

These were admitted to protective duties for the encouragement of English manufactures.

In 1823, we find Henry St. George Tucker, at one time a Director of the East India Company, strongly condemning this commercial policy in respect of India. He said that piece-goods made of silk or silk mixture has been excluded from the English market, and cotton fabrics, "which had hitherto constitued the staple of India had not only been displaced in England, but England was getting a firmer grip in these goods in India. The policy pursued had reduced India from the state of a manufacturing, to that of an agricultural country."

The following figures tell their own tale : Cotton goods sent from England to ports East of the Cape of Good Hope mainly to India. In 1796,—£.112, 1806,—£.48,525, 1813,—£.108,824.

Wilson, the historian, says that until these prohibitive duties had been put on, Indian piece-goods could be sold for a profit in the British markets at price from 50 to 60 per cent. lower than those fabricated in England.

"Had not such prohibitive duties existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset; and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of India. India could not retaliate. This act of self-defence was not permitted her ; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty and the foreign manufacturer enployed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competition with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

While the prohibitive duties were in force in England the revenues of this country were spent on the company's

investments—namely in advances to weavers, who were under the law, if they had received any such advances, on no account to give to any other person whatever, European or Native, either the labour or the produce engaged to the company. Severe penalties were provided for default. Weavers who possessed more than one loom, and entertained one or more workmen were subject to a penalty of 35 per cent. on the stipulated price, if they failed to deliver according to the written engagement.

Things had become much worse in 1833. The company was so jealous of Indian manufature that the first cotton mill which was started in Calcutta—I believe Fort Gloster—had great difficulty in importing the machinery. In fact, it is said, it had to be smuggled.

Montgomery Martin, writing in 1837, complained in strong language of "the cruel selfishness of English commerce."

"Under the pretence of Free Trade, England has compelled the Hindus to receive the products of the steam looms of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Glasgow, etc., at mere normal rates; while the hand-wrought manufactures of Bengal and Behar, beautiful in fabric and durable in wear, have had heavy and almost prohibitive duties imposed on their importation to England."

The following figures again tell their own tale :—

In 1813, Calcutta *exported* cotton goods to London of the value of £2,000,000,

In 1830, Calcutta *imported* British cotton manufactures of the value of £ 2,000,000.

Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, in 1830, pointedly called attention to the ruin of Indian industries and the growing poverty of our people.

The policy to convert India into a land of raw produce, that England might be independent of foreign countries, has been very successfully pursued.

It is unnecessary to cite German authority on the subject. Let us take Prof. Devas, Examiner in Political Economy at the Royal University of Ireland. In connection with the question of the preservation of existing industries by means of protection, he says:—

"An instance of this may have been the ruin of the Indian *hand-loom weavers* by British manufactures. The latter had been themselves, as long as they needed it, protected in the 18th century against Indian cotton goods. Two generations of Indian weavers numbering many millions of artisans and their women and children slowly starved. The higher classes of them were forced out of their hereditary employment and compelled to seek a subsistence as cultivators in already over-crowded districts, or drifted hopelessly as landless labourers. The workers in coarser fabrics could just cling to their looms on starvation wages—perhaps eked out by a plot of land. By the middle of the last century this process—In reality *one of the great tragedies in the industrial history of modern times*—was nearly completed."

During this period England was violently *Swadeshi.* Let us quote from List.

"England forbade the cotton wares of her own East Indian traders, she prohibited them absolutely. She would have no thread of them. She would have none of those cheap and beautiful wares. *She preferred to consume her own dear and inferior stuffs* . . . . , The statesmen of England had no desire for cheap and perishable goods. What they wished to acquire war dear, bnt enduring manufacturing power......What would England have gained if a century ago *she had brought these cheap Indian goods.* What have they gained who have bought those goods so cheaply? *England gained power, immeasurable power—the others, the very reverse, dependence.*"

And yet England pretends to be amazed that men can be found in India to preach the same things as they preached and practised, before they succeeded in usurping their present commercial power. This is translated in Bismarck's language thus :—

"The England of the day was a strong champion who after developing his muscles, stepped into the market place and said : Who will strive with me. I am ready for any one."

In 1833 it was provided that the East India Company was henceforth to discontinue and abstain from all commercial business.

In 1840, the Company which had killed Indian manufactures but were no longer rival traders, we find championing Indian industries. They actualy petitioned the parliament for the removal of prohibitive duties.

Evidence before the select committee showed :—

(1) Native manufactures had been in a large measure superseded by British.

(2) India was mainly dependent for its supply of those articles on British manufactures.

(3) Great distress was the consequence in the first instance of the interference of British manufactures with those of India.

In fact the Court of Directors had as early as 1829, felt bound to admit that "the suffering caused to numerous classes in India by the commercial revolution" could hardly be parallelled in the history of commerce.

All honour to men like Larpent, Chairman of the East India and China Association and Montgomery Martin,

who pleaded for the starving millions of an alien nationality. They pointed out "that free trade with India, had been a free trade from England, not a free trade between India and England."

All honour to the man who stood up for mute sufferers and protected that " England had no right to destroy the people of a country which she had conquered, for the benefit of herself, for the mere sake of upholding any isolated portion of the community at home."

The British Parliament however, did next to nothing. The cotton manufactures had been killed and it was then not at all difficult to recommend that the inequality in duties between Great Britain and India should be removed, but for the silk industry, which though moribund was not then quite dead, the committee could not make such a recommendation——the heavy prohibitive duty was to continue, to propitiate the silk trade, one of whom Mr. Brocklehurst, who was on the committee expressed his view that those accustomed to starvation need not be uncomfortably starving. Such men and such sentiments and principles serve to alienate us from England. Those are the real enemies of the country. Mr. John Morley may well look for them at home.

Thus was the Indian manufacturer sacrificed for the British from time to time and the infant power-loom industry of the country is to-day viewed with jealousy and burdened with countervailing duties. The mandate from Manchester is just as effective then as now. In the exigencies of party Government equities are ignored and India continues to suffer. But we need not despair.

Even Manchester possesses a heart and we find it is beginning to bleed for the poor overworked Indian mill-hand. She is seeking a curtailment of their working house.

I have given you a hurried sketch of the death of our hand-loom industry as yours is a weaving district. I do not intend to deal with any other trade or industry on this occasion, as I want to impress upon the necessity of doing everything in your power to revive the weaving industry. How is it to be done?

I am a firm believer in the hand-loom. I do not believe that even now the power-loom can compete with it—certainly not in finer counts. With a slight modification—like that of the fly shuttle—our weavers without any heavy outlay,—can hold their own against the weavers of the world. All that they want is a market. If there is adequate demand, our weavers are prepared to go back to the industry. In this district they have returned to it in hundreds, Hindu and Mahomedans. Our cloth may be dearer but remember that England kept up a dear market and forbade the sale of cheaper goods, nay cheaper and better goods, to protect its own cotton manufactures. Can you not spare an anna or two for your starving country. Every man with a grain of sense in him, Hindu or Mahommedan will see that the cheapest market is not always the best market, for a people whose industries are dying. You must wear cloth of your own manufacture and reject the foreign article. There is nothing alarming in the word Boycott. You must advance your own trade by every lawful means in

your power. You have no hope that the industry will be ever protected. You must protect it yourselves. You must be prepared to pay the extra anna or two, without demur. Let me caution you however, that the methods must be entirely lawful. Lawlessness and disorder will only ruin our cause. I know you have no sympathy for those that seek to rouse animosities, but I ask you to actively discourage them. Ours is a difficult work and whole hearted devotion to it is necessary. If patriotism is religion, and if you have a spark of religious feeling left in you, do not allow it to be outraged by those whose fanaticism is incendiary in spirit. Having nothing to do with men who preach that "Regulation *lathies* have to be met by Anti-regulation *lathies*." They are dangerous councillor's and cannot be associated as active champions in a good cause. Speak, discuss, proclaim your creed, but everything within law and reason. Thus and only thus can you be powerful for good; "by timult and disorder you become weak as infants." People have never yet possessed power without submission to law and order.

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18. THE HON. MR. GOCULDAS PAREKH.*

It cannot be denied that one of the main causes of the poverty of this country, is that a very considerable proportion of the population are dependent on agriculture for their living. The area under cultivation in several localities is not capable of expansion, and, in others, the

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* Reprint from the *Indian Review*.

increase in cultivation seldom keeps pace with the increase of population. The means of subsistence in proportion to the population thus diminish from year to year. Again, as agriculture is the main source of income to the people, the distress of the people is considerably intensified when there is failure of crops over any large locality. The better class of people find difficulty in maintaining themselves, and the poorer become quite helpless, as they are unable to procure any work whereby they may earn their livelihood.

It is, therefore necessary, for the improvement of the economic condition of the country, that a large portion of the people should be drawn away from their dependence for living on agriculture, and be enabled to earn their subsistence by other industries. A number of large industries did at one time exist in this country; but they have been unable to hold their own against foreign industries, conducted by people of superior education and skill, helped by machinery and other labour saving appliances. The result has been that some of the old industries have disappeared, or are disappearing, and many others are in a very decaying condition.

It is, therefore, a very important problem for the country that new industries be introduced and old industries be revived and resuscitated. But a new industry which has to be introduced, or a decaying one that has to be resuscitated, requires some sort of special encouragements. Measures have to be taken to save them from being crushed or stunted by foreign competition. In the more advanced countries of Continental Europe, industries that

promise good development, are supported by their respective Governments, by bounties and cartels. Under the existing policy of the British Government, in connection with India, one cannot accept them to adopt any system of bounties or cartels for the protection and development of any Indian industries, particularly when such industry may compete with an important industry of Great Britain or its Colonies. The patriotism of the Indian people should therefore, do what in other countries might be done by Government, by giving a protective preference to goods of Indian manufacture, which have to compete with foreign goods. The Swadeshi movement, of which the object is to induce our countrymen of all classes to give preference to Indian articles as against foreign, must thus be regarded as a patriotic movement and encouraged.

Besides the economical advantage to the country, if the Indian people generally give preference of Indian articles to those of foreign manufacture, the constant exercise of self-sacrifice in a cause of this kind will, as often as it is exercised, remind those who practise Swadeshism of their duty to their country, and will help to knit closer the ties of sympathy between persons of different localities and different communities throughout the country and will thus bring on an important moral gain.

But, in connection with this question, it must always be borne in mind that, notwithstanding the benefit that the practice of giving preference of India articles to foreign may confer, it is a work in opposition to the ordinary economical laws, and, therefore, unless the practice and

spirit are maintained by a constant reinforcement of patriotic feeling, must gradually vanish. This feeling cannot be relied upon to last indefinitely. It can be available only for a limited length of time.

Boycott, as distinguished from Swadeshism, has for its objects the exclusion from use of all or particular articles manufactured in a particular foreign country, while like articles manufactured in other foreign countries are freely used. This can do no economic good to the country; on the other hand, it may tend to create ill-feeling between the people of our country and the people of the country against which it is used, and may expose our country to the danger of reprisals and retaliation. Even as an instrument for manifesting our displeasure against some serious political grievance, it ought to be restored to very rarely, and that only on condition that we are able to maintain it for an indefinite length of time, and that it is capable of causing to those against whom it is used harm sufficient to be appreciated.

The Swadeshi wave that is now passing over the country, may or may not last long. But the chances of its passing away as such waves, have passed away before, ought not to be lost sight of. It is the duty of public men that work for the good of the country, to take as much advantage as possible, of the feelings that have been aroused, when they are in full force. I think the force has not been utilised sufficiently for helping the industrial regeneration of the country. I believe, the strong general feeling that has been aroused in the country, ought to be availed of in adopting measures that may lead to a better development

of industries in this country. I think this may be done in the following manner.

In the Presidency towns and at other centres where it may be possible, should be formed bureaus of well informed, intelligent, and patriotic Indian gentlemen who should try to obtain from different countries information about different industries, their scope and methods of development, and should be able to act as guides and referees to those who want to study any industry, or to learn practical work in any manufactory, or to start any new, or develop any existing industry in the country. In connection with the bureaus, there should be libraries, which should contain all books, magazines, and other publications relating to industries, and containing industrial information from various countries.

A large fund should be established for the purpose of helping those who go to foreign countries, for the study and practice of industries. Assistance should be given in the form of loans. They should be given to the best students of our Universities, or to others who show any extraordinary aptitude for any particular industry. The loan should carry interest at the rate of about 4 p. c., and should be made repayable by instalments, after the time which may be necessary for finishing the student's course of study or practice. Insurances must be taken out on the student's lives to provide for the contingency of his dying while studying. If good selections are made, this sort of arrangement will provide the country, in course of time, with numbers of persons who will be able to carry on several new industries; at the same time, the fund would always remain undiminished.

The bureau should also be able, to bring out the best practical men from foreign countries, skilled in particular industries, for the purpose of guiding such industries in this country. It very often happens that new enterprises fail, because the foreigners brought out for managing the concerns are not good, well selected, and are found incompetent, lazy, dishonest, or addicted to vicious habits. The risk of bad selections will be considerably reduced, if there is available the help and advice of a competent bureau having reliable correspondents in the country in which the selection is to be made.

It often happens that though we can get people competent to carry on new industries, they are unable to obtain funds for starting and conducting business on a large scale. The public are unable to distinguish between a well trained expert and a charlatan. If there be a bureau of the kind mentioned, it can satisfy itself that the man is competent, and capable of carrying on the industry, and that in his hands, it is likely to prove remunerative. If such a bureau, after making enquiries and giving the man a reasonable trial, recommends any person such recommendation would carry much weight and people will feel confidence in him. Funds can thus be raised and joint-stock companies may be promoted, if an influential bureau is able to satisfy itself that a particular individual would be able to start an industry with success, which would be impossible if the matter were left to the unaided enterprise of individuals.

The bureaus may start industrial schools import instruments, and appliances, which may not cost very large sums, from foreign countries for helping industries, may

introduce smaller industries, obtain and circulate informations which may relate to the development of useful industries and can render themselves useful in a variety of ways. If satisfactory bureaus are established, there could be no limits to their useful work. It appears to me that it is most desirable, that the spirit that has been evoked in the country should be utilised in such a way that it may do a great and lasting good.

THE HON. SIR DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA.*

I will take Swadeshism as a text from Mr. Ranade's writings, to hang a parable. I mean sound Swadeshism, healthy, inspiring and inspiriting, but wholly free from the taints and the tricks of those fantastic and heedless economic Cheap Jacks who are now vociferously hawking the Swadeshi shibboleth in certain well-known parts of the country. It is indeed remarkable that Mr. Ranade taught Swadeshism without ever so much as making mention of the word! It was hazily apprehended by a few thirty years ago and more. Its value became more pretty freely known when Ranade began his lectures on it before the Western India Industrial Conference at Poona of which he was the principal founder and the most ardent supporter. But even then, say in 1890, it was more or less in the chrysalis stage. What strides, however, has this economic movement taken since Mr. Ranade's death! What phenomenal progress, to be sure, this cult

* From an address on Mahadev Govind Ranade delivered before the Hindu Union Club, Bombay. June 1908.

has made, though, alas! accompanied by other most undesirable accretions which are as unwholesome in the abstract as they are mischievous in their practical tendencies. Swadeshism is a broad generic term. It is most needful at present to clearly define it. What does it connote? How far may the connotation be practically realised? Is it possible under the prevailing conditions to manufacture anything and everything which is presently imported from abroad to the extent of 105 crores of rupees, apart from cotton fabrics of the value of 35 crores? What is the present position of the Indian cotton industry? What are its potentialities and available resources in the near future? How may the industry in bleached and dyed goods be developed? Does the country possess resources which at once could be made practical for steadily diminishing the imports of those descriptions of cloth of the recorded value of 17 crores of rupees? If not what may be the cause or causes? Are they surmountable or insurmountable? The question at this hour has came a great deal to the front by reason of the apprehended crisis in the Manchester piece-goods market of Bengal and Bombay. It requires to be carefully investigated whether it is the consequence of Swadeshism pure and simple or the rusult of more than one temporary factor which has disturbed and depressed the market. Crisis in the textile trade is caused either by what is technically called potential or effective production. The investigation must proceed on clearly logical lines supported by unimpeachable data. It is not enough to cry aloud that Swadeshism is the sole or principal reason without a due ascertainment of the true facts of the present block

in the trade which has locked up a capital variously estimated but nothing short of 2 or 3 crores. A mere mechanical pronouncement of the word, as you would pronounce "Mesopotamia," will not help us. The causes must be definitely and rationally investigated beyond the shadow of doubt. When it is, it will be found to be principally owing to the abnormal imports of Lancashire goods to the extent of 6.39 crores during the last official year.

Similarly with certain class of raw materials on which Mr. Ranade has expatiated at great length and greater assiduity. These are presently valued at 72 crores per annum. They are exported in larger quantities from year to year with the view of being returned as wholly finished or partially finished products of the value of 62 crores, apart from cotton fabrics a larger portion of which are, of course, manufactured from American cotton. Next, as to the country's development of the metalliferous ores by scientific mining. How has the first important colossal enterprise in iron mining and iron manufactures, which Mr. Ranade was so anxious to see, been embarked upon by Messrs. Tata and Sons and how potential is it for increasing the wealth of this poor country in the future, especially for the purpose of establishing large iron manufactures, such as mill machinery, including boilers and engines, building materials, bridges, locomotives, sleepers, plates, hoops and so forth. What strides coal mining has taken and how foreign capitalists who have embarked on this enterprise are flourishing and yet greatly intent on further developing them for the purpose of obtaining a larger and more remunerative output. Take

manganese and consider its potentialities. There is sugar-cane cultivation and sugar industry. Why is it that in spite of India being the largest sugar-cane growing country in the world it is still so far behind in sugar manufacture as to be obliged to import annually eight crores of beet and cane-sugar on an average? Is it not worth while investigating why Mauritius should still be the largest exporter of cane-sugar, albeit that the sugar-cane cultivation in this island has been made a complete success for years past by the labour of Indian immigrants who now constitute the majority of the colonial population? More, why our next door neighbour, Java, should now be pouring in such an immense quantity of cane-sugar, aye, double the quantity which Mauritius exported last year. May it not be the beneficent result of that Dutch system on which Mr. Ranade has so shrewdly dilated?

But it is not only the question of indigenous production and manufactures in connection with Swadeshism which need thorough investigation and practical organisation. There is the Swadeshism which is implied in the distribution of all products. Why may not Indian enterprise take a departure in respect of ship-building on modern lines? Surely, it is not an art which is lost when we remember that a hundred years ago, aye, even forty years ago, large ships used to be constructed and launched for mercantile purposes and for State offence and defence from the historic dock of Bombay? Science has undoubtedly taken giant strides in the art of navigation and ship-building. Surely Indian enterprise is capable of develping Swadeshism in this direction also, so as to be able in

the course of time to export Indian products in Indian bottoms and thus save freight, to be counted by crores, now annually carried away by the enterprising and materialistic Westerners. The saving would in reality be so much capital retained in the country which now finds its way abroad. In another way it will be the means of greatly stimulating the exports of some of our staple finished products, say, indigenous yarn and piece-goods. Indian mail-owners who sell their yarns and cloths in the markets of China know to their cost what a hard thing is it to compete with Japan in the same market. Freight is one antagonistic element which has to be overcome. Owing to the combines of the four principal foreign steam navigation companies under the leadership of the P. and O. Company freights have been so mounted high that oftener than not they make all the difference between profit and loss. More it may be sometimes a deterent as to exports while what we want is the larger exports of our finished manufactures abroad. Is there the least doubt that Bombay could compete most successfully with Japan in the Chinese yarn markets were Bombay freights considerably reduced? At present, the shippers are at the mercy of the combine. Destroy that combine and the salutary change might at once be realised. But how is that destruction to be accomplished? Is a ghost required to tell the mill-owners that Swadeshi shipping alone is the permanent panacea for the desired object? I was glad to read the other day in a recent number of the *Modern Review* of Allahabad, an excellent and well-informed monthly conducted with considerable literary ability, an elaborate

article advocating ship-building from the practised and able pen of Mr. G. V. Joshi. He drew public attention to the tonnage annually carried to and fro by British and foreign mercantile marine, supported by figures which are striking. But I will no longer dilate on the Study of Economics, theoretical and practical, though it is a truism to assert that there is no study more utilitarian and yet fascinating from the Indian point of view.

The treatise* so ably written by Mr. Ranade, embodying his most mature thoughts and practical suggestions requires to be largely annotated and enlarged by the light of many a fresh economic phenomenon to be now witnessed not only in India but China and Japan. It is curious that Mr. Ranade has not referred to the immense development of Swadeshim in Japan which was to be noticed during his lifetime. This omission might now be well supplied. The principles on which Japan is carrying out its foreign trade demand elucidation at present from a broad and extensive point of view. Similarly a chapter on Chinese industrial development, just commencing, might prove of the

* **ESSAYS ON INDIAN ECONOMICS.**—By the late Mahadev Govinda Ranade. Price Rs. 2. To subscribers of the *Indian Review*, Re. 1-8. *Contents* :—Indian Political Economy ; The Re-organisation of Real Credit in India ; Netherlands India and the Culture System ; Present State of Indian Manufacture and Outlook of the same, Indian Foreign Emigration ; Iron Industry—Pioneer Attempts ; Industrial Conference ; Twenty Years' Review of Census Statistics ; Local Government in England and India ; Emancipation of Serfs in Russia ; Prussian Land Legislation and the Bengal Tenancy Bill ; The Law of Land Sale in British India.

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greatest utility. Lastly, the activity of Indians in connection with our annual Industrial Exhibitions and Industrial Conferences is a theme on which much might be said. This much we can freely say that had he been living to day it would have rejoiced his heart to witness the great practical industrial enterprises on which India has embarked and the immense, earnest and enthusiastic efforts made by means of divers organisations in all parts of the country to extent and vivify the industrial movement. It is in this direction that much good to the country might be rendered. Swadeshism has taken under it all embracing arms both commerce and banking, besides industrial regeneration and new industrial enterprises. A most satisfactory progress has been made in respect of indigenous local banking to promote the growth of interprovincial trade and commerce. Finance is the *sine qua non* for such a purpose. It would have gladdened Mr. Ranade's heart to notice that in Bombay City itself two banks have been established most successfully with indigenous capital amounting to nearly three crores. Similarly a large bank in Madras and another in Calcutta have been instituted with a capital of half a crore. And there are signs that sooner or later banking for purposes of helping agriculturists will also be an accomplished fact. Thus Capital and the Organisation of Credit, on which Mr. Ranade laid great stress, have taken a considerable start which augurs well for the development of the internal resources of the country and for the fostering of remunerative home trade.

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21. Hon. Pandit MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I have very great pleasure in supporting this Resolution. It is hardly necessary to make any appeal to you in the cause of Swadeshi. I consider it as a dispensation of Providence that the minds of our people have for some time past been more and more directed towards the Swadeshi Movement. Among all the factors which you think are calculated to improve the condition of the people and bring back prosperity to the people, the Swadeshi Movement is one of the highest importance. Patriotism needs it, humanity dictates it, and every possible consideration that you can have, will enforce the carrying out of the Swadeshi Movement in the most earnest spirit, not only now but for a long time to come. Gentlemen, time there was when this country, this very City of Surat, in particular, was renowned in the world for her excellent industries. The condition of things has changed; the wheel of prosperity is down. The condition of Indian looms and Indian artizans is now changed. We now get almost every article, however small, from Europe, articles for our daily use. Well, we should feel very sore about it. We ought to be extremely active in changing the condition of things prevailing here. There is dire distress prevalent in the country at this movement. I need not remind you of the suffering which is being undergone in almost all part of the country by the vast number of our aged and our poor belonging to the lower and middle classes. Famine now comes in every third year; during

* Speech delivered at the Swadeshi Conference, Surat, Dec. 1907.

the last ten years we have had so many famines, and during the last century we have had so many more. We have lost a vast number of our people, simply because even in this land of plenty, where corn grows anywhere, in this land of fertility which produces more corn that would be needed to feed all its population, there is no money in the pockets of people to enable them to buy the corn which they find in the market; and they therefore died of starvation. The question of famine is not a question of want of grain. Sufficient grain is grown in this country. The question of famine is a question of there not being sufficient money in the pockets of the people, to enable them to purchase grain. Among all the solutions which have been suggested, the recommendation of the last Famine Commission and of the previous Famine Commissions is one of the greatest importance for preventing famines. They say: "Build up the strength of the people by reviving industries and find other avenues than agriculture for the people to depend upon." How can you do that except by trying your very utmost religiously and not merely as a matter of retort; not as a matter of expression of feeling of dissatisfaction, but is a matter of duty to humanity and as a matter of religious duty to your country that you should become Swadeshis, not one or two, but in every single concern throughout your lives. There is no country in which there is greater room for service to one's country than this unfortunate land. There is no land which I can think of where you can render greater service to humanity than this land of poverty-stricken people. It is your duty to enable them to earn some money in

order that they may be able to get the food which they require. That the Swadeshi cause is growing is a matter for rejoicing. I fear it is not growing as much as is commensurate with the needs of the people. We hear a great deal of talk about Swadeshi but I don't know that our people have realised it to be a duty which they owe to their country. Remember that it is a duty which you owe to your nation. Remember that it is the duty which other nations have realised and have practised and profited by it. England recognised it many years ago. America recognised it, and Australia recognised it. They have all been profited by it. They believe it to be their duty to practise Swadeshi. England is proud of it at this moment. You must acknowledge that many of the articles made in England are superior to the articles made in other countries. An Englishman is naturally proud of selecting articles of English make. A Japanese feels naturally proud to select articles of Japanese make, if he can get it. Well time may yet be distant when you will feel naturally proud to select articles made in India, articles which will compare favourably with articles of European and American make. Don't use articles of foreign make of very good polish and very cheap if you can get articles of Indian make. Purchase those articles which will put some money into the pockets of your brethren in this country. Remember that thereby you are trying to put food into the mouths of some hungry people. I have seen it in my own City of Allahabad where I purchase a towel worth six annas coarser and probably dearer than the towel which I could purchase of foreign make; but in doing so I have the great satis-

faction of knowing that the man who is selling will probably be able to retain half of the money with him and that it will help him to have at least one meal throughout the 24 hours. Therefore, let us be content with using Swadeshi articles even when they are not as fashionable as are the articles of English and foreign make. Let us purchase articles which are coarser and dearer if we can afford to purchase them. Let us purchase articles of Indian make wherever we can get them, not from any other consideration, but from a higher consideration of finding some food for some hungry mouth or some clothing for some naked brother or sister who is perishing in the cold in this season of famine. At this moment I cannot tell you how many thousands of my countymen in the North are dying of starvation and how many thousands are dying because they have not sufficient clothing to protect themselves from the severe cold of the season. Government is evidently doing as much as it is possible to prevent starvation and to relieve distress, but it is not possible to do all that the situation requires when the population is so generally poor. It is your duty to help the people in the distressed parts of the country. Even the little help that you will give will save several lives of, at any rate, prolong them. In drawing your attention to it at this moment, I trust the appeal will not go in vain. We have been clamouring about the inactivity of Government. Let us be active and carry on the noble work of relieving distress. That is our duty at this moment. Let us recognise that we have no organised system of relief for feeding our countrymen. We must put aside other considerations like the political and

educational,—all other considerations for a moment from our minds and begin to bestir ourselves to appeal to those who can spare money for supplying a little food and a little clothing for those that need it in the different provinces of India. To work up the Swadeshi cause is not a mere fad, nor a political passion; it is a matter which leads to the prosperity of the country. Help it in all possible directions and by all possible means, discarding the idea of strife, and cutting off from your minds all thought of personal predominance, personal ascendancy, or personal honor. Discard such ideas in order to do good service to your people. Help the Swadeshi cause so that you may enable the poor people of all parts of India to find food and clothing for themselves.

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20. MR. G. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR.*

What is the position of the Swadeshi Movement today? It is hardly twelve months old, and yet what marvellous developments it has put forth? There were sceptics who had no belief in it; there were wise-acres who scoffed and sneered at it. Shallow-minded people failed to see that it was not the outcome of misdirected sentiment of mental obliquity; but that it was the embodiment of a new national consciousness, born of deep-seated causes in active, though unperceived, operation for a series of years. Like our great political movement, the Indian National Congress, the Swadeshi movement is the necessary result of the new influences which the contact between the East and the West has

* Reprint from the *Wednesday Review*, December, 1906.

introduced and which are stirring the latest moral and intellectual energies of the people. If the Congress is a protest against the political subjection of India, the Swadeshi movement is a protest, not only against India's industrial subjection, but also against her present condition of dependence and subordination. It embodies a subjective as well as an objective and stimulates consciousness of our own apathy and self-neglect as well as discontent under a foreign dominion which obstructs and cramps our social and moral aspirations. Conditions have been ripening for such a movement during the past 25 years. The Indian National Congress has taught us our own strength as a united nation, animated by common ends and sustained by common conditions. Political reform was the first move along the line of least resistance; then came the social reform movement, and the movement for industrial regeneration. Latterly a movement for educational reform has been visible. The Swadeshi movement, while directly striving for the liberation of the people from their industrial dependence, recognises it only as a means to a great national end, to an all comprehensive programme of reform and reconstruction in the modern life. Need we say that the Swadeshi movement has come to stay and grow from place to place and dimension to dimension? Its full force and significance are evident in the wonderful progress it has made not in Bengal alone, nor in any single province, but throughout the country, bringing into play unsuspected fresh energies and opening up fresh prospects of national expansion and prosperity. The tide is not of the same force or height everywhere;

but its sweep touches the extremities as well as the heart of the nation.

"I have heard" said the veteran patriot of Bengal, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea, speaking the other day in Bombay, "that the Swadeshi Movement is described as being in the domain of economics what the Congress is in the domain of politics. I venture to think it is a good deal more than that. It is not merely an economic or social or a political movement, but it is an all comprehensive movement, co-extensive with the requirements of our national life one in which are centered the many-sided activities of our growing communities. Therefore, gentlemen, it seems to me as if some spirit has whispered into the ears of the genius of our Motherland that the aspiration of our nation are industrial and political salvation. It is really the growing need of Indian—of our multitudinous races and peoples. It appeals to all the richest and the poorest. It is understood by all. The Deccan peasant or the Bengalee rustic may find some difficulty in under standing the merits of a scheme for representative Government, or the subtle issues involving in the question of the separation of the judicial from the executive functions. These questions are difficult to be solved by men of untrained minds. But when you tell such men that the wealth of the country must be kept in the country and that it is to their advantage that this should be done and that in order to do so they must purchase country-made articles, in preference to foreign articles, they would open their eyes and ears wide. No intelligence is required to illumine their thoughts on the subject. They recognise that this is to them the problem to solve the removal of the poverty of themselves and their fellow countrymen. They will stand by your side and salute you as their deliverer."

That these words true and wise, will be known to any body that has ever moved to advocate the Swadeshi cause. So far as Southern India is concerned, the most striking evidence of this fact is furnished by the success of

the National Fund movement. The appeal made on its behalf to the people of all places and of all ranks and stations has met with a response so general and spontaneous that it should carry conviction to the most sceptical mind. It is not the capital city and the imporant district station alone that have responded to the appeal but some of the poorest and most obscure villages have willingly contributed their mite to this Fund. The National Fund movement is entirely divorced from all politics ; it is exclusively designed to help the industrial regeneration of India. The writer of this article has had opportunities to move with people in villages as well as in towns, and everywhere the importance and full scope of the movement were understood with a readiness and intelligence hitherto unsuspected by our public men living in large centres of educated thought. The inroad of foreign enterprise has so thoroughly covered the personal domestic, and public wants of the people, that they have only to be reminded of that fact before they realise the whole scope and significance of the Swadeshi movement and gladly come forward with their mite to help such a good and patriotic cause. The Congress has inspired the educated classes with the lofty sentiment of patriotism and of devotion to the elevation of their Motherland, but in the minds of the great masses it is the Swadeshi movement that is planting the seeds of national self-consciousness. It is teaching them to reflect on their present condition, on their common grievances and on the common remedy of union and self-sacrifice. If the Congress was open to the charge of concerning itself with the aggrandisement of the educated classes—

an unfounded and sinister charge no doubt—the Swadeshism cannot possibly be charged with any such defect of weakness. The classes and the masses suffer equally from foreign ascendancy in our industrial as well as political status, and they can feel and act in unison and mutual sympathy. As Mr. Surendra Nath said, if the Congress has brought the educated classes on the same platform, Swadeshi is bringing the classes and the masses together on the platform. One chord of love for the Motherland cannot be touched without causing response in all and so, Swadeshism, though it appeals to the daily felt ever present material needs, appeals virtually to the sense of the people in regard to all aspects of their national existence.

The movement is still in its infancy. But it has already shown itself to be a very Hercules in boyhood. Its achievements are already great, and indicate an immensity of latent strength which is bound to lead to a national transformation which arrest the attention of the world. Three hundred millions of people, living over an area of one and a half millions of square miles, moving together in one accord to redeem themselves from a condition of subjection and helplessness imposed on them by themselves as well as by foreigners, animated by common sentiments and objects, and sustained by a recollection of a common history of moral and material greatness, will furnish a chapter in human progress, in which will be illustrated the great truth of the moral governance of the universe, the truth, namely, that there are periods of ebb and flow in the history of nations, that no nation can be great and dominant for ever, or no nation can be

enslaved and degraded for ever. Let not the easy-going scoffer ask what has Swadeshism done within the short time that it has been in evidence to warrant such a glowing forecast. Let him watch with vigilance and intelligence the signs of the times, the small and big signs, the signs, perceptible and imperceptible, on the surface as well as beneath the surface, and draw his own honest conclusion. The foreign observer sees these signs better perhaps than we ourselves do. It was wrong to suppose that it was Lord Curzon that was the sole cause of the new spirit. His policy of reaction and of repression of the educated classes was but the latest of the addition to forces that were already at work. He divided Bengal in order to lesson the political influence of the Bengalees, he modified our educational system in order to discourage higher education. The result, however, was exactly the opposite of what we intended. As Mr. Bryan, the well-known American politician, observed, it aroused the Indians and made them conscious of the possession of powers which they had not themselves known. His policy acted like the autumn wind that scatters winged seeds far and wide and spread the seeds of a national sentiment, bringing up more life and more hope than there have ever been. Lord Curzon did not know that above and beyond the influence of his own administration, were other influences which worked in response to the great moral law of rise and fall of nations. The great Aryan nation has had its history of degradation and suffering. It is entering on a new Epoch of its history. It will have its share in the momentous changes in the present international relations of the

world which history will witness before the new century is well advanced. The modern generations will not live to see them; but of the seeds that they sow posterity will reap the harvest.

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22. MR. ASWINI KUMAR DATTA.*

I verily believe that the Swadeshi movement will ultimately usher in the day when the Indians will be recognised as a nation. They have no place now in the scale of nations as, oblivious of the glories of the past, the descendants of the once renowned Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and of the mighty Mussalmans of old, have all reduced themselves to the position of *Sudras* by their want of self-respect and self-reliance. Dependence and service are the centre of their thoughts by day and of their dreams by night. It seems now it is the pleasure of the Most High that this conglomeration of the down-trodden peoples will be raised to the status of *Vaisyas*. The cry for independent livelihood has been started. The Swadeshi movement is every day lowering in public estimation the paraphernalia of gaudy service and raising in national regard all manly efforts, towards self-help, however humble. There was s strike in the Settlement Office at Barisal a couple of months ago. The people, without discussing whether the strike was justifiable or not, were loud in the praise of those who gave up services and took to some independent vocation. I know two of these—high-class Brahmins have stopped to be mere hawkers, they are hailed with respect wherever they go

* Re-print from the *Indian Review*.

and their packs are unloaded amidst greetings of customers. A blade of grass shows which way the wind blows. These slight indications, I fancy, foreshow the good that Providence has in store for us. The barometer of national feeling, I trust, prognosticates fair weather in future and the dispersion of clouds of ages by an outburst of self-reliant patriotism. The spirit of Swadeshism has begun to work and we have every reason to hope that, in a decade, it will leaven the whole mass of society from one end of India to the other.

I have said 'a decade' as I find even in Bengal, which seem to the outer world electrified by the Swadeshi current impelled by the odious Partition of Bengal, only a small portion of the pupulation has stood up for solid practical work, but the wheel has been set going and in its forward motion it will, doubtless, carry the whole peninsula with it the addition in India of about 12,000 looms in the last twelve months against 10,000 in nine years from 1895 to 1904 and the laudable attempts that are being made in different parts of the country to create new industries and promote indigenous manufactures,—only a small portion of such a backward district as Backerganj sending out in only two months about two thousand rupees worth of such tiny articles as nibs,—are signs of industrial regeneration.

The obstacles to rapid movement may be classed as internal and external.

Of the internal obstacles the first I have already noticed—a predilection for service in preference to an independent calling. This is mainly due to want of business training. The system of education that obtains in the country do

not, as a rule, equip our young men for anything but service except those who prepare for the practice of law or medicine. It is only by making satisfactory arrangements for scientific and industrial education they may be relieved from seeking service. Members of well-to-do families will then be in a position to make use of their resources to set up business to help themselves and their motherland. Apart from provisions on a large scale, in my opinion, an industrial section should be attached to most of our schools for training poorer boys in humbler crafts to enable them to earn sufficiently to maintain their families without any appreciable outlay. I would allot three hours in the morning to industrial teaching and three hours in the afternoon to general, moral and religious culture. Only three hours' afternoon work would not, I am sure, be sufficient to train the boys up for our University Examinations. Those who aspire after University degrees should join colleges for higher scientific, industrial, legal, medical, engineering or general education.

The second obstacle, I should think, is the listlessness of the people. India is a full of resources ample enough for all her necessities and even her luxuries. Lotus-eating stands in the way of their utilisation. While the whole educated community is convulsed with discussions as to what appliances are the best for weaving and what steps should be taken to rejuvenate that industry, the weavers, as a class, do not care to gather any information for their benefit. Most of them are content with their primeval implements and if you speak to them of the improvements that have been made in looms and shuttles you can

hardly rouse in them animation enough to exert themselves to profit by such improvements. Those who have been driven by the importation of Manchester cloths to degrading pursuits, are loath to resume their former calling. The same spirit pervades all other classes of artisans. Nonchalance reigns supreme. You must work and produce tangible results before their eyes to persuade them to work on improved lines for their own good.

The third obstacle is conservatism. It is sometimes based on superstition. The Hindu craftsmen are afraid they would displease the gods by the introduction of any new contrivance into the ancient forms which the old god *Viswakarma* had vouchsafed to their ancestors. Even Mussalmans, at least in some parts of Bengal are infected with similar prejudices. The conservative instincts of the middle class people hardly ever allow them to brace themselves up for any trade or art which their fathers never followed. The higher classes of people, too, look at all innovations with suspicion. There is an inherent timidity which shrinks from enterprise. The traditional methods of investment of capital, however scanty the return may be, will never be broken through until some prominent undertakings of industrial reformers will have proved a success.

The fourth obstacle is our want of patience. We are anxious to see our industrial plant grow like a mushroom. When it does not answer our oversanguine expectations we are apt to despair. A single case of failure sends us back reeling into the slough of Despond. The collapse of the

Bengal Banking Corporation and the Match Manufacturing Factory threw us back many years. The spirit of venture has, however, revived. If we posses our soul in patience, I doubt not, a bright prospect is before us. Education of our minds by a study of the history of enterprises, a knowledge of how failures lead to success, is the only remedy for this lack of patience.

The fifth is a want of the spirit of co-operation. It is difficult to form Joint Stock Companies amongst us. The trading castes have institutions on this principle generally confined to members of the same family, but the higher castes fail to organise such companies principally. I suppose, because of the paucity of men of their castes who have had business training and partly also because of want of mutual trust. This want of faith is, I believe due more to lack of business capacity in our men than to their dishonesty of character.

The sixth is the greed of traders. Directly they find an opportunity, they screw up the prices to, I might almost say, 'the breaking point.' Most of them have taken advantage of the Swadeshi movement to make out of it as much as they can. It is necessary that they should be made to understand that patriotism is not inconsistant with their interests.

A host of agents is needed to educate public opinion, to stir up people to a sense of their needs, to make them resolve to use indigenous goods and eschew foreign articles as far as possible, to open up before them the glorious vista of the industrial and agricultural future of India and to demonstrate in the presence of trades and 'artisans by

experiments where necessary, the advantages of improved methods and contrivances.

The external obstacles are two ;—(1) The advantages in competition that are at the command of the mercantile interest in foreign countries ; (2) interference by Government or its officials.

With the introduction of the machinery and the latest inventions of the world, supported by Indian intellect, quickened to the creation and development of art and industries, and by the capital that may be laid out by millionaires in the country and by the willing labour of a people conscious of the abundance of resources at their disposal, India may soon be in a position to cope with the strength of foreign industries.

Public opinion of United India coupled with an unbending determination to carry on the movement legally at any cost, and pressure from the British people are the two forces that may stand us in stead if there should be any interference from Government. But Government seems, at present, inclined to foster indigenous industries; and let us pray that there may be no change in its policy. The repressive measures that have been adopted here and there are, I firmly believe, the offspring of the heated brains of certain erratic officials.

The industries that demand immediate attention are, in my opinion, cotton, (wool), glass, leather and cutlery.

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23. THE HON. MR. V. KRISHNASWAMY IYER.*

I have no doubt that the Swadeshi Movement is calculated to do a great deal of good to the country. It is one of the phases of industrial revival and of industrial development. The exhibitions that have been held in connection with the Congress have been admirable from a spectacular point of view, but it is doubtful whether they have yet produced any important results except in drawing public attention to the resources of the country in the industrial line and to the possibilities of the future. The first real impetus to industrial progress has, I believe, come from the Swadeshi Movement. Swadeshism consists in increased production of indigenous goods, in the starting of new industries that have not hitherto found a congenial soil, and in the better distribution of the commodities produced in suitable, markets. The first two may require a large application of capital, which has hitherto fought shy of industries, and a technical skill and knowledge which have yet to come into existence. The last is more easy of attainment. Many a commodity suited to the tastes and habits of different parts of the country languishes in the home of production for want of the middle men, the commercial agents and the elaborate devices of advertisement that will bring it into close relation with the markets of demand. The exhibitions may be supposed to have done some work in this direction. But for lack of effective organisation carrying on the work of the exhibition between one show and another, their influence has been

* Reprint from the *Indian Review*, 1905.

practically evanescent. With the spirit of Swadeshism abroad, it appears to me to be an excellent opportunity for the formation of a Central Commercial Bureau of Indians in a central place like Bombay from which should issue a weekly bulletin of indigenous industrial products in particular centres with quotations of prices. The department of commerce organised by the Government of India performs no such function and cannot be expected to devote itself to the stimulation of Indian industries under Indian management. If the new Industrial Conference to be held at Benares will hit upon a scheme like the one I have indicated, it will prove a source of permanent good. As regards the stimulation of increased production, improvements in industrial appliances must be largely taken advantage of. Existing industries such as hand-loom weaving, the tanning of leather and the refining of sugar are capable of large expansion with very small additions of capital provide the knowledge of improved appliances is possesed by the artizan classes engaged in those trades. Schools exclusively devoted to particular industries and located in centres where they are carried on largely for the education of the children of the classes engaged in them will do much for the placing of those industries on an efficient footing. Government can do much in this direction but private effort ought to do more, and the industrial awakening signified by Swadeshism must be turned to good account by the leaders of Indian communities. I am more sceptical as regards the starting of new industries. Unless large numbers of the youths of this land are sent to technical colleges of Europe, America and Japan, following the example of Japan herself in that

line and they return to the country with the spirit of invention and enterprise to take industrial concerns on hand, little progress can be made in the establishment of new industries. There is a large field of work now before us even to absorb all the newly awakened interest and enthusiasm in seeking the appropriate markets for the goods produced and in increasing production in the industries in which we are already engaged. Away from books of reference I do not wish to trust to my momory for figures but it goes without saying that weaving stands at the head of all our industries. The Expansion of hand-loom weaving has very wide limits. In the tanning of leather and the refinement of sugar which come after weaving we can do a great deal. I am hopeful that the new enthusiasm will not spend itself in mere boycotting of foreign goods. If even a portion of it is regulated and directed into proper channels we shall have taken the first decisive step in the industrial regeneration of the land. It will never do for us to confine ourselves to agriculture as some well-meaning friends advise us to do. I am free to admit that there is much in improved agriculture to claim our attention and our energies. But if ever we are to be saved from the grip of periodical famines it will only be by industrial advancement; for the country, as a whole, rarely fails to produce an adequate food supply but the frequent starvation in large areas is due to the lack of purchasing power.

24. HON. MR. AMBICA CHARAN MUZUMDAR.*

The blaze of Swadeshi fire widly spread from town to town, village to village, and from house to house with a rapidity which almost staggered even those who had kindled it with their own hands. The Promethean spark grew in volume and intensity by what it fed on, while growing hatred fanned into a flame, and on the 7th of August, 1905, united Bengal with its gentry and aristocracy, the rich and the poor, the high and the low, standing on a common platform, sent forth her joint protest against the Partition and put her seal upon the boycott of foreign articles. Gentlemen, the seventh of August has twice come and gone, and to-day is the third anniversary, of that memorable day which witnessed the birth of new Bengal. I am neither a pessimist nor an optimist, but am a firm believer in the unmistakable signs of the time. Events cast their shadows before and amidst all the ordeals through which the movement is passing there are manifestations which to my mind clearly point to the conclusion, pleasant or unpleasant that the Swadeshi-boycott movement has come to stay and every attempt to beat it out of the country must be futile. If it were based merely upon hatred it would have even died a natural death; but it had its root deep into the stern necessities of the time and is nurtured by the strongest of instincts—the instinct of self-preservation. It is, therefore, that the movement has got such a firm grip of the people from its inception. The

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* Speech delivered on the 7th August, 1907, on the occasion of the Partition Day.

Government may prolong its agony, may extend its miseries and its persecution and may even mark its progress with the blood of martyrs, but it cannot reasonably hope to drive it out. Gentlemen, the Swadeshi movement is not the feverish display of sentimentalism and the boycott is not a blind crusade against foreign trade. The production and encouragement of indigenous articles is the only remedy against the growing poverty and weakness of the people and the boycott of foreign articles has become indispensable both for the development of that movement as well as for the material and political advancement of the people. I do not understand the difference between the two. The one is a necessary corollary to the other and he who approves of the one cannot reasonably object to the other. It is the foreign trade that killed the home industries and the process must necessarily be reversed if we were to revive them. The fox might no doubt prefer the open dish for the dinner, but the unfortunate crane is obliged to choose the closed jug for the jelly. Gentlemen, the progress already made by the movement during the past two years is another evidence of its vitality and strength. It has dissipated the gravest apprehensions of those who considered the movement at the outset to be mere moonshine and has inspired the most sceptic amongst us with hope, confidence and respect. We have not merely burnt Manchester cloths but out of their ashes we have built an industry of our own. A large cotton mill has been established and several factories have also sprung up. Handlooms and flyshuttles are also busy working in the country. Whatever may be the value of these mills and

factories, we attach greater importance to the long-lost indigenous weaving industry which it has revived and which has rescued a large population from the miseries of starvation and bad livelihood. I know there are people who twitter as on the solitary mill of which we have to render an account and console themselves with the thought that one swallow does not make a summer. True, but swallows there were in the country in abundance and only one robust swallow was required for cooling them into activity, to herald the dawn of new life and inspiration. Gentlemen, doubtless there is yet room for considerable advancement in the direction of machine, mills and factories, but I seriously doubt if cotton mills and factories will ever flourish in Bengal or even it is desirable they should as they have done in Bombay, Ahmedabad and other places. In Bengal there has been from the earliest time a weaving industry which was at one time the admiration and despair of many a civilized country. That industry forms an important factor in the social organization of Bengal from fifty thousand to hundred thousand people in each district in the Gangetic Delta still belonging to the weaving class by birth, by instinct and by profession. They were simply dying for want of encouragement and under foreign competition. The impetus given by the Swadeshi movement has given them as it were new life and stimulated them into fresh vigour and activity. Go to the villages and there you will find, in many places, the markets flooded with hand-made cloths of various textures which are largely in use at the present moment. I consider the development of this indigenous

home industry to be of no less importance than the establishment of mills and factories. It is a self-working, self-adjusted and self-supporting system, which not only finds employment for much larger number of the population, but is probably based upon sounder economic principles. Mills may fail or flourish: but a race can hardly be altogether extinct. It cannot liquidate, but must always have a valuable assest to the country. The mills and factories are no doubt a powerful adjunct but in Bengal they cannot, in the view I have taken, ought not to form the only or even the principal source of supply.

It ought to be our endeavour to develop and encourage this home industry, to train the weavers in improved methods and appliance, to form them into co-operative societies or to subsidise them either through district organisation or through the merchants direct. If the indigo concerns could be carried on the *Dadan* system there is no reason, why the weaving industry cannot be maintained in the same principle by the merchants themselves. Based upon the willing co-operation and mutual profit of both the employers and the employed, already the othodox home industry has gained ground and working on the lines indicated above and with the growth of cotton cultivation, which has begun in some places and the spread of the good old *charka* improved and enlarged or duplicated, the cloth market in Bengal may well be relied on to hold its own against foreign competition.

As regards Liverpool salt, the market is admitted to be encouragingly dull although I must say that from the

point of our own profit, it is high time that some companies were floated either to manufacture salt to somewhere on the Sunderban's side or to deal in Madras salt. But, gentlemen, it is not in the cloth and salt markets alone that the Swadeshi movement have planted its standard. Soap and scent, boots and trunks; paper and pen as well as sundry other necessaries of life it has become possible for us, within these two years not to depend upon foreign countries. In the domain of education, the National Council of Education and the Bengal Technical Institute have inaugurated a movement which have a great future before them, while the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education which was established in 1904, has received an impetus from the Swadeshi movement which can neither be ignored nor discounted. The many-sided activities roused by the movement are manifested in the Eastern Bengal Steamer Service, the Bengal Steam Navigation Company, the various Soap Factories, the Bengal Pencil Factory, the Tarpur and Maharajgunge Sugar Works and various other enterprises into which the people have eagerly thrown their time, energy and capital. The Calcutta Pottery Works has already achieved a name for its manufacture of China-ware,tea-cups and saucers and toys of various descriptions. The procelain tea cups made of purely indigenous raw materials have undoubtedly relieved habitual tea-drinkers from great embarrassments and difficulties. The Indian Stores, with the innumerable shops, called "Swadeshi Stores" which have sprung up all over Bengal, are all doing practical service towards the growth and

development of the movement. I admit that this is not much and much yet remains to be done for the salvation of a drained, demoralised and exhausted people. But it must be admitted that it is a fair beginning of a gigantic task, beset with enormous dangers and difficulties on all sides.

25. MR. MYRON H. PHELPS.*

Bar-at-Law, New York, U. S. A.

The Swadeshi movement, which you have inaugurated so successfully, is your most powerful, and a perfectly legitimate, weapon. . . . By it alone can you regain your economic independence; and this you must have. . . . . I propose now to call your attention to some remarkable parallelisms between the history of America, while still a dependence of Great Britain, and that of India; for I think that a knowledge of these things will encourage you to persist in the course which you have taken. .

Just as your numerous and flourishing textile industries have been destroyed for the benefit of Manchester manufacturers by the free importation of the Manchester goods procured so, America had suffered industrial repression at the hands of England. Such has ever been the policy of England towards her Colonies. Let me quote on this point a distinguished English authority, J.R. Mc Culloch, whose great Commercial Dictionary was published early in the last century. He says (p. 319):

The proceedings of the Britsh Government in depriving them (the American Colonies) of freedom of commerce were the chief

* From letters to the *Indian Press.*

cause of those disputes which broke out in 1776 in an open rebellion of ominous and threatening import.

But besides compelling the colonists to sell their produce exclusively in British markets, it was next thought advisable to oblige them to buy such foreign articles, as they might stand in need of, entirely from the merchants and manufacturers of England. For this purpose, it was enacted in 1663, that 'no commodity of the growth, production or manufacture of Europe shall be imported into the British plantations but such as are laden and put aboard in England, Wales or Berwink-upon-Tyne, and in English built shipping where of the master and three-fourths of the crew are English.

"It was also a leading principle in the system of colonial policy adopted as well by England as by the other European nations to discourage all attempts to manufacture such articles in the colonies, as could be provided for them in the mother country. The history of our colonial system is full of efforts of this sort ; and so essential was this principal deemed to the idea of a colony that Earl Chatham did not hesitate to declare in his place in Parliament, that the British Colonists of North America had no right to manufacture, even a nail or horse shoe. And when such were the enactments made by the Legislature, and such the avowed sentiments of a great Parliamentary leader and a friend of the colonies, we need not be surprised at the declaration of the First Lord Sheffield, who did no more, indeed, than express the opinion of almost all the merchants of his time, when he affirmed that the only uses of American Colonies or West India Islands is the monopoly of their consumption and the carriage of their products.

Lord Cornbury wrote home in 1707 that the Colonists have "entered upon a trade which, I am sure, will hurt England in a little while: for I am well informed that upon Long Island and in Connecticut, they are setting up a woolen manufacture and I myself have seen serge made,

upon Long Island that any man may wear." And again he said:

I declare my opinion to be that all these colonies, which are but twigs belonging to the main tree (England), ought to be kept entirely dependent upon and subservient to England, and that can never be, if they are suffered to go on in the notions they have that as they are Englishmen, so they may set up the same manufactures here as the people may be in England; for the consequence will be that, if once they can clothe themselves not only comfortably but handsomely too without the help of England, they, who are not very fond of submitting to Government, would soon think of putting in execution designs they have long had harboured in their breasts.

It is regarded that in response to Lord Cornbury's representations, the Lords of Trade ordered Governor Hunter of New York to give all possible legal discouragement to the linen and woollen manufactures established in the Colonies.

It was enacted by Parliament in 1641, that no vessel laden with colonial commodities might sail from the harbours of Virginia for any ports, but those of England.

A later enactment declared that after the first day of December 1699, no wool, or manufacture made or mixed with wool, being the produce or manufacture of any of the English plantations in America, shall be laden in any ship or vessel, upon any pretence whatsoever—nor laden upon any horse, cart, or other carriage—to be carried out of the said plantations or to any other place whatsoever.

An English sailor finding himself without colthes in an American harbour might buy there forty shillings' worth of woollens, but not more.

To manufacture like England, says Bencroft, was esteemed a sort of forgery, punishable like an imitation of British coin.

A close watch was, therefore, kept on industry in the Colonies, Governors were instructed to discourage all manufacture where manufacture had once been started in the Colonies. . . They were vigorously repressed. (Beers Com. Policy of England).

In 1719, Parliament forbade the transportation of hats made in the colonies from one colony to another: and enacted that "none in the plantations should manufacture iron wares of any kind out of any sows, pigs or bears whatsoever."

George II enacted that no mill or other engine for rolling or slitting iron, no plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel, shall be erected in the colonies. If so erected, it is to be deemed a common nuisance.

These policies drew forth energetic protests, as well as a determined resistance, which will be referred to later, from the Colonists.

"Whose natural right," says the Boston Gazette of April 29th 1763, "is infringed by the erection of an American windmill, or the occupation of a watermill on a man's own land, provided, he does not flood his neighbours? . . . A colonist cannot make a button, a horse shoe, nor a hobnail, but some *seedy* ironmonger or respectable button-maker of Britain shall pawl and squall that his honor's worship is most egregiously maltreated, injured, cheated and robbed by the rascally American republicans."

In addition to these enactments in restraint of commerce and trade, Parliament levied taxes upon the American Colonies, both custom and internal taxes, as stamp dues.

These were resisted on the ground that taxes ought only to be levied by a governing body in which the people taxed had representatives; that they should only be levied upon the American Colonies by the existing colonial legislatures, or by a reorganised British Imperial Parliament in which members chosen by the Colonies should have seats. "No taxation without representation" became a political war cry.

Such was, in brief, the nature of the grievances of the American Colonies against England; and I wish now particularly to call your attention to the manner in which they fought grievances, *viz.*, by the refusal to buy English goods, that is, precisely by an American Swadeshi movement. Agreements were drawn up and presented for signature to all the principal citizens of the different Colonies, by which the signers agreed "not to import, purchase or make use of certain articles produced or manufactured out of North America, such as teas, wines, and liquors, all superfluities and, in general, all foreign manufactures." "Committees of correspondence" were appointed to write to the various towns and impress upon the people the importance of these "non-importation agreement" as they were called. All over the country, committees of inspection were appointed consisting of diligent and discreet persons whose business was to make critical inspection into the conduct of all buyers and sellers of goods; and to publish the names of all those who failed to adhere to the non-importation agreements to the intent that such persons might be exposed to the odium and resentments of the people. I have before me a history of the city of Norwich which contains record

of proceedings, which were typical of what went on all over the country. This history records that, in December 1767, the town of Norwich received a circular from the "Selectum" of the city of Boston, recommending the disuse of certain enumerated articles of British production. A town meeting was immediately called to consider the subject, and the said meeting, being full and well-pleased with the important measures offered to their consideration, appointed a committee of the most prominent inhabitants to advise and report at the next meeting. This report consisted chiefly of a "non-importation agreement" such as I have described above, framed "in conformity with the noble example set by Boston."

They recommended also the raising of sheep's wool, flax and hemp, and the establishing of domestic manufactures, and that the citizens should especially promote those new manufactures, that had been set up among them, of paper, stone and earthenware. The British tax on tea being especially obnoxious, the report closes with a recommendation to "the worthy ladies of this town that for the future they would omit tea drinking in the afternoon."

The encouragement of home industries and the rejection of all imported luxuries were regarded as tests of patriotism. Common discourse grew eloquent in praise of plain apparel and "Labrador tea"—a tea made from a native wild-growing herb. The music of the spinning wheel was pronounced superior to that of the guitar and harpsichord. Home-spun parties were given, where nothing of foreign importation appeared in the dresses worn or on the table. Even wedding festivities were

conducted on patriotic principles. It is recorded that at the marriage of one Miss Flint, in December 1767, the numerous guests were all arrayed in garments of domestic manufacture. The ladies appeared without silks, ribbons, gauze or lace. The refreshments, though of great plenty and variety, were all of domestic produce, and the popular beverage was "Labrador tea."

The town meeting book contains a minute of the following resolution adopted on January 19th, 1770.

"We give this public testimony of our hearty and unanimous approbation of the agreement which our merchants have entered into, to stop the importation of British goods: we will frown upon all who endeavour to frustrate these good designs, and avoid all correspondence and dealings with those merchants who shall dare to violate these obligations. The Town Meeting—we also appointed a Committee to carefully watch the doings of merchants, and publish the names of all, found guilty of violating their agreement. They also recommended that all persons of means enter into subscriptions for setting up and carrying on the making of nails, stockings, weaving, and other useful branches of manufacture, and everyone in his respective sphere of action to encourage and promote industry and frugality."

Repeated meetings are recorded which were held for the purpose of devising methods of support for the non-importation agreement, which was the leading interest of the time. They repeatedly declare their fixed conviction of the wisdom and importance of this measure,—that they will "spare no pains to give it a fixed and solid form

by following every breach thereof with the full weight of their indignation, and withholding all commerce from any who dare to violate it."

There is abundant evidence to show that energetic action accompanied these resolutions; not a threat was returned void. The committees of inspection were exceedingly vigilant; the lady who continued to indulge in her cup of tea, or the gentleman in his glass of brandy, were obliged to do it by stealth. Any persons found to have violated goods, had his name posted in handbills through the town and published in the local papers, a proceeding usually followed by insults, at least from the boys and populace. A list of about forty articles is given which were enumerated in the pledge "not to import, purchase, or use, if produced or manufactured out of North America."

As an example of the proceedings of these committees the case of one Ebenezer Punderson may be cited. This person was a man of good education and manners, who kept a school upon the plain. His name was posted throughout the town, with the charge of having repeatedly drunk tea and, on being questioned about it, declaring that he would continue to do so. The committee thereupon, ordered that "no trade, commerce, dealing, or intercourse whatever be carried on with him, but that he ought to be held unworthy of the rights of freedom, and inimical to the liberties of his country." This had the desired effect. A public recantation was made by Mr. Punderson, who averred that he was sorry for what he had done, and would drink no more tea until the use should be fully approved in North America.

One James Rivington of New York, a printer and publisher of a newspaper, incurred the disapproval of a number of committees of observation, whose records are before me. One of these reports said that Rivington "is a person inimical to the liberties of his country, and as such, ought to be discountenanced ; we, therefore, do cordially recommend all our constituents to drop his paper and have no further dealings with him." Another committee declares :—That they esteem the said James Rivington an enemy to his country ; and, therefore, that they will for the future, refrain from taking his newspapers and from all further commerce with him ; and that by all lawful means in their power, they will discourage the circulation of his papers in the country. A third will "discountenance any post rider, stage driver or carrier who shall bring his pamphlets or papers into this country." A fourth "holds him in the utmost contempt as a noxious, exotic plant, incapable of either cultivation or improvement in this soil of freedom and fit only to be transported."

So you see, my friends, that Swadeshi was an American, before it was an Indian institution. It was successful in America in forcing the repeal of obnoxious British legislation, but its greatest value was in arousing the sense of patriotism and co-operation among the people. This is the most necessary of all things for you. Stand, hand in hand, Hindoos with Mahomedans, as brothers of one great family, which you are. . . . . .

But there is one line of action which you all have at heart, which is so certainly wise and, if persisted in, is so

certain to lead to success, which is so obviously sound and safe that we do not hesitate to urge it upon you, as it has been urged in all the preceding letters of this series, *viz.*, —the building up of your industrial and economic strength the development of India for yourselves, Swadeshi within the limits of the law. It means not only the development of your manual industries and your manufactories, but your own banking and financial institutions, your navigation and commerce, in the hands of Indians, the restoration of irrigation works and reversion in many ways to your ancient institutions, supplemented by whatever they have to gain from the modern world. Above all, it means the organisation of schools, the reconstruction of your educational system, whereby proper education, especially technical and industrial education, may be provided for your youngmen and women. Education, as you know, was once widespread and free in India, education which produced artisans, scholars, philosophers, poets, soldiers, artists, statesmen and rulers, instead of being the vapid thing, quite useless for practical life, which it has become under English direction. It means the discouragement and gradual elimination of the excrescences, which have been grafted on your polity to its ruin by those mere seekers of wealth, who neither understand nor care for the requirements of the real prosperity of Indian life,—such excrescences as for instance, the jute culture and traffic, which impoverishes the soil, displaces the rice, which is needed for food, disarranges your social life, and is fatal, so far as it goes, to the happiness and content of thousands of your people ; or the opium culture and

traffic, a shameful imposition fastened upon you by your rulers, which causes similar disarrangements of social conditions, besides demoralizing your people.

The field for work here is immense. Every man's energy may be occupied in it for years and years, and success in it carries with it political regeneration for India as well. Economic strength is consistent with political servitude. It is a certain path. There is no other which is certain.

But, if there are still those whom the name Swadeshi alarms, if there are those patriotic Indians who have not given a full, loyal, hearty and active adhesion to this great movement, so full of promise to India, the only hope of India, to them I would address a few further considerations.

Is there anything in good morals or good politics which should influence a careful man against Swadeshi? It may well be said—it is true—that a policy which involves hate cannot be a true policy; that only those developments founded on the principle of love can stand the test of time and events.

But Swadeshi, properly understood, is not a policy involving hate; when you say, we will use only the goods which we make—we will use no foreign goods, you give no just ground for offence, even to Englishmen.

If we make the case individual instead of national, the matter becomes perfectly clear. Suppose that A owns 20 acres of land, and that beside him is B with 5 acres. A's large family is able to cultivate his 20 acres and also to weave cloth for clothing the family. B's family

is able to cultivate B's 5 acres and to make cloth for clothing B's family, and also to make cloth which B's family does not need and can sell. Does neighbourly love require A to buy of B his surplus cloth, which A's family can make themselves? If A does this, part of his people will be idle, for their work is not needed on the land. Labour will be lost and poverty will ensue. This was precisely the situation of India and England, a century or so ago. The people of India were sufficient to both till the soil and to make all the manufactured goods which India consumed. There were far more people than the tilling of the soil required. Then England brought there her cheap goods and her unfair legislation, by which she forced her goods upon you and at the same time hampered you in the pursuit of your own industries. Thus your industries were destroyed and almost the whole of your population thrown back upon the soil, upon agriculture, for their support. There were then too many agricultural labourers, more than the land needed or could support, and poverty was the inevitable result. These conditions ought never to have been brought about; they were the result of a selfish, and criminally self-seeking policy. But they exist and what action do they require? Here are the Englishmen, next to Americans, the wealthiest people in the world, with an average income of about Rs. 600 a year and there are the Indians, the poorest people in the world, with an average income of Rs. 15 a year. Does neighbourly love require the Indian to starve in idleness, in order that the wealthy Englishman may have more industry and collect more wealth? No,

Swadeshi is the effort to replace by normal, healthy natural conditions, these abnormal, diseased, unnatural conditions which have been fastened upon India by selfishness and greed. These conditions would be righted by legislation, if your statesmen had the power of legislation. They would be righted by legislation, if England instead of India, were the sufferer. Can any one doubt this? Do Englishmen forget that up to the middle of the 19th century, they guarded their own rigorous but still growing and insufficiently established industries by protective tariffs? Of this, I will say more further on. But you cannot legislate. You can only protect yourselves and the ignorant, helpless masses who are dependant upon your intelligence and leadership, by individual efforts, and for these efforts the general term "Swadeshi" has been adopted as a name.

To pay for cotton goods, which you could make yourselves, and other goods, which you do not need, you are sending out of India rice and wheat which you require for food and for the want of which millions of your people are dying of starvation. England ought not to ask or permit you to do this; but since she does not perform the duties which she has assumed by accepting the responsibility of Indian Government *you must protect yourselves.* If you do not do so, you violate the laws of love towards your children, your wives, your distant posterity, your country and your God. You are weak and you are false.

Let none of you then forget that by the use of any foreign-made article, which you wear or use, instead of which an Indian-made article might be worn or used, *you are taking the bread from the mouths of some of your*

co untrymen and causing some of your countrymen to die of starvation. Is this neighbourly love? Is it Humanity? is it Justice?

To be more specific, there are thousands of you, who, in the tropical climate of India, are wearing English-made felt hat or caps, unsuited to India, suitable only to a cold country, such as England, merely because the foreigner has made them fashionable. Your native turbans, which your countrymen can readily make, are far more comfortable, far more healthy, far more becoming, in every way, more suitable. The same is true of foreign-made leather shoes, as contrasted with Indian-made sandals, and of imported woollen coats and trousers, as contrasted with Indian cloths. The Indian in European dress is an ungainly, uncomfortable, pitiable object, looked upon and treated by the English with contempt which, it must be admitted, is in a measure, deserved. How many of these unhappy creatures, I have seen in your cities, clad in a woollen coat, black derby hat and leather shoes, hastening along in great discomfort, perhaps mounted on the English "bike" in the scorching rays of your Indian sun? And then your woman; how many of them, having adopted the fashions of London and Paris, and replaced beautiful Indian laces and silks by the cheap and tawdry finery of Europe, parade your streets, perhaps in English-made carriages, in great befeathered hats, tight-fitting gowns, laced boots and buttoned gloves. What folly, what stupidity, what heartlessness? Thus you have yourselves, to a considerable extent, wrecked your native industries and ruined your people. The delicate laces, the incomparable embroi-

deries, the wonderful carving and sculpture of wood, ivory and stone, of ancient India, are to be found only in your Museums and the arts of making them have perished with your ancestors. This is, indeed, a melancholy picture —a picture which it is your duty—the duty of awakened India—to repaint. There have been those among you, who have long understood this state of affairs, and you have courageously stood out alone for the just and intelligent remedy. I have been told of a gentleman of Bombay, who, 20 years ago, was wont to appear in public gatherings, clad in roughly-finished homespun. I am informed that for many years a number of leading patriotic gentlemen of the Punjab have practised the principles of Swadeshi and as a result the making of cloth by means of hand-looms has survived in that province, and that the weavers of Ludhiana and Gujerat produce excellent woollen cloths. . . . . In previous letters, I have shown you how the colonists of America adopted it. Take a lesson from them. The general feeling in the American Colonies on behalf of the encouragement of domestic industries, became so strong that the coarse home-spun woollens, which alone the Colonies were able to produce, became the only reputable clothing; and broad cloth coats, not being replaceable by their looms, became more fashionable, as they became more threadbare. All Boston signed an agreement to eat no lamb, that more lamb's wool might be had for weaving.

You are but following in England's footsteps, a fact which is still more pertinent under these circumstances. When England entered the world's arena as a competitor among nations, the industries of India were flourishing.

England could not compete with them. She could not make goods even approaching yours in quality or sell them as cheaply as yours. Indian cottons and silks were sold all over Europe. "In spite," says Macaulay, "of the Mussalman despots and Mahratta freebooters, Bengal was known throughout the East as the Garden of Eden—as the rich kingdom. Its population multiplied exceedingly; distant provinces were nourished from its graneries; and the noble ladies of London and Paris were clothed in the delicate products of its looms."

England shrewdly saw that she could only become powerful by becoming *self-centred*, *independent* of all other nations. She must have her own manufactures; but she could not build these up in the face of cheap Indian products. What then did she do? She *boycotted* Indian goods. She erected a 60 to 80 tariff against their entry into England. She penalized the use of Indian goods, exacting heavy fines upon those found wearing them in England. This was a boycott; and a boycott far more effective than any which you are able to maintain, since it was enforced by all the powers of the state.

Frederick List, a great German economist of the last century, thus describes the English policy :—

By the Treaty of Methuen with Portugal in 1703, England was enabled to increase immensely her Chinese and Indian Trade... Were they content with the profits on the one hand of the trade with Portugal in cloth, and on the other with the trade in silk and cotton goods with the East? By no means. The English ministers looked further than that. Had they permitted the free importation into England of cotton and silk goods from the Indies the manufacture of cotton and silk in England would have been

destroyed at once. India had in her favour not only the low price of the raw materials and the cheaper labour, but also long practices and traditional dexterity and skill. Under the system of competition, the superiority necessarily was with India : but England was not willing to build up manufacturing establishments in Asia, afterwards to fall under their yoke. She aspired herself to commercial dominion, and comprehended that, of two countries which deal freely with one another, that which sells the products of her own manufactories, gains and governs, while the other which exports agricultural products obeys and suffers. With regard to her American Colonies, England had already assumed the same policy, declaring that not even a nail or a horse shoe should be manufactured there, much less the importation of nails manufactured in those Colonies be permitted. How then could she give up to a people so numerous, so frugal, so favourably situated for manufacturing industries, as the Hindus, her industrial market, the foundation of her rising industrial power? England, therefore, prohibited the articles competing with those of her own factories the silk and cotton goods of the East. (Anderson : 1720). This prohibition was absolute and under severe penalties. She could not consume a thread from India and firmly rejecting those beautiful and cheap products, preferred to use the inferior and dearer goods made by her own labourers. She sold the cheap goods to the Continental countries, those much prized commodities of the East ; she gave them the benefit of the cheapness denied to her own consumers.

But England went still further than this. In order to force India to send her raw materials for her factories, and in order to more quickly break down the Indian industries she restored to direct legislative and executive interference. Indian artisans were compelled, under severe penalties, to work in the East India Company's factories. Resident officials were vested with extensive powers over Indian manufacturing communities, which were used both to

repress Indian industry and to force English goods into the countty.

Having invented the power-loom and perfected it under fostering protective care, having become politically dominant over a considerable part of India, assuming responsibility for millions of your people, when her position as a manufacturing nation was thoroughly established—a position which seemed, and has since proved to be, impregnable,—she threw open the floodgates of competition and deluged India with machine-made goods, sold at a price with which your hand-looms could not compete.

Thus, in the words of Wilson, the great English scholar and historian of India :

> The British manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor, with whom she could not have contended on equal terms.

But your workmen fought hard and desperately for the industries which meant their life, and even against these tremendous odds they held their own in Bengal up to 1869, the countless hand-looms supylying all the cloth which that province needed. In that year, there was a terrible famine, which for the time crippled the Bengalee weavers. Before they could recover themselves, the English commercial agents, on the watch for their opportunity, poured in machine-made goods filling the requirements of the country. Stripped of their capital by the famine, and having no immediate sale for their products because of the glut of the market by English goods, the Bengali weavers, unable to prolong the struggle, were forced out of their handicraft and obliged to resort to

other means of livelihood. From this national disaster, the industry of Bengal never recovered, and is now practically non-existent.

So England boycotted India. Except so far as it was inconsistent with the duties she had assumed as the guardian of India's well-being, we may not complain of this boycott so far as it was imposed by her home tariff regulations. But the industrial ruin of her dependency and ward by the free importation of her own goods—above all, by repressive Governmental interference in India—this is indeed another matter.

In these things, you cannot imitate England, and you would not imitate her, if you could. It were better to perish of hunger, and I for one would rather that you should.

The power of controlling legislation with regard to your own affairs which belongs to you of right, is withheld from you. You cannot pass laws: you are left to help yourselves as you may, by your own efforts as individuals. The only means within your reach—the only possible salvation so far as human foresight can discern, from your present abject condition, is the movement which you have called Swadeshi.

In the practice of Swadeshi, you are following the successful precedent of several other nations, and you are far within the precedent of England in all respects. You are not the guardian of England's interests—you have assumed no responsibility for her welfare. In building up yourselves, you violate no law of love. It is failing to do so only that you may be recalcitrant to your duty.

Therefore, my brothers of all parties and opinions, as you love your children, your distant posterity, your country and your God, enter whole-hearted into this movement. Not only is this just and legal and neighbourly, but it is *wise statesmanship*. History proves this. It was successful in America, not only in causing modification of Governmental plans, which is of minor importance, but in *uniting the people* which is of paramount importance. The policy prevailed generally throughout the American Colonies being accepted almost universally at the time of greatest stress. It solidified the colonists by common efforts; developed patriotic feeling and enthusiasm; brought them together and welded them into one mass; *proved to them the power of united action.* Without this preliminary drill, this discipline, this consciousness of union and strength, it does not seem probable that when the crucial moment finally arrived, when men had to choose—whether or not to cast their lives and fortune into the scale in behalf of national ideals, that final and almost unanimous throw of the die would not have been possible.

Does this line of action involve unfriendly relations with Englishmen? I believe that in the long run it does not, and that in due time the initial feeling which it has excited will disappear. Though, on the other hand, even if it produced the utmost degree of ill-will, it is your true and judicious course, and should be persisted in, at all costs. Clearly legal and just and necessary as it is, it should be pursued absolutely without regard to the opinions of any man or men. Cultivate independence of opinion, independence of speech and independence of action. . . . Let the Blessed Bhagavan exhort you:

"Yield not to unmanliness, O son of Pritha. It becomes thee not, cast off this base weakness of the heart and arise."

The policy of Swadeshi of course involves the avoidance of English goods which you can do without, or for which you can make Indian substitutes. There is no way in which you can develop a market for your own products, except by cutting off the market for foreign goods. Abstention from the use of foreign goods, carried as far as you are able to carry it, is, therefore, the necessary corollary and accompaniment of the national industrial constructive movement. To assume that Swadeshi does not involve this element, call it "boycott" or by what name you will, is a mere Euphemism.

True Swadeshi, therefore, involves a certain amount of disregard of British interest, but it is so clearly within right and duty that I believe the better opinion of Englishmen—I do not mean that of the representative Indian bureaucrat, with his narrowness and insularity, but the opinion of broad-minded Englishmen, and that there are thousands of them—is with you in this matter of national development; and I believe that if you are wise and prudent, it will not be too long before none will dare to speak against it. Lord Minto himself says much in his opening address at the Industrial Conference in 1906:

"You have reminded me of my reference to Swadeshi in my speech in Council, last March, and I hope that my presence here may be some indication of the fulfilment of the promise of support I then hold out to those, who are earnestly endeavouring to develop home-industries in an open market for the employment and the support of the people of India. I see round me the results of

their labours and I am gladly here to-day to help them." He then urges the introduction of modern machinery in all departments of manufacture on the well-considered ground, which connects approval of the Swadeshi arguments, that "we cannot expect the Indian public for sentimental reasons to buy that is inferior and behind the time."

Give these words the cordial recognition which they deserve. Lord Minto here practically endorses the whole Swadeshi policy.

In the London "Times" of September 3rd, 1907, I read:

We may be quite sure that in settling with the Government of India the lines of future policy, Mr. Morley is doing everything within his power to encourage such development (of industries), by facilitating measures for Government patronage thereof. The suggestion that the India Office is opposed, either in principle or practice, to this form of Swadeshi can only be put forward by people unacquainted with the fact.

"The Imperial Gazetter for India" just published by the Government, not only approves the economic changes going on in India, but gives a measure of encouragement which is worth a great deal to the Swadeshi cause.

The Customs revenue rises with the growing trade of the country and fluctuates according to the circumstances of the year. It is to a certain extent threatened by a cause which is *from every point of view, a matter for satisfaction*, namely, that the growing native industries are beginning to supply wants hitherto met from abroad. Instances in point are the rapid expansion in the local production of petroleum and the development of the cotton industry." (p. 179).........A Customs revenue which is threatened by an increase of some of the most important staples of the import trade. It may be that the resources on which the State has hitherto relied will not prove adequate for the needs of the future. (p. 199).

This language may not be in all cases entirely sincere; for the sake of argument, grant that it is not. Still it is wise to treat it as genuine. For, well-buttressed as it is, in right and justice, it is likely to gain currency, create opinion and be followed in action.

MR. M. K. GANDHI.*

It was not without much diffidence that I undertook to speak to you at all. And I was hard put to it in the selection of my subject. I have chosen a very delicate and difficult subject. It is delicate because of the peculiar views I hold upon Swadeshi, and it is difficult because I have not that command of language which is necessary for giving adequate expression to my thoughts. I know that I may rely upon your indulgence for the many shortcomings you will no doubt find in my address, the more so when I tell you that there is nothing in what I am about to say that I am not either already practising or am not preparing to practise to the best of my ability. It encourages me to observe that last month you devoted a week to prayer in the place of an address. I have earnestly prayed that what I am about to say may bear fruit and I know that you will bless my word with a similar prayer.

After much thinking I have arrived at a definition of Swadeshi that perhaps best illustrates my meaning. Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the

*An Address delivered before the Missionary Conference, Madras, on the 14th February, 1916.

use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. Thus, as for religion, in order to satisfy the requirements of the definition, I must restrict myself to my ancestral religion. That is the use of my immediate religious surrounding. If I find it defective, I should serve it by purging it of its defects. In the domain of politics I should make use of the indigenous institutions and serve them by curing them of their proved defects. In that of economics I should use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting. It is suggested that such Swadeshi, if reduced to practice, will lead to the millennium. And as we do not abandon our pursuit after the millennium, because we do not expect quite to reach it within our times, so may we not abandon Swadeshi even though it may not be fully attained for generations to come.

Let us briefly examine the three branches of Swadeshi as sketched above. Hinduism has become a conservative religion and therefore a mighty force because of the Swadeshi spirit underlying it. It is the most tolerant because it is non-proselytising, and it is as capable of expansion to-day as it has been found to be in the past. It has succeeded not in driving, as I think it has been erroneously held, but in absorbing Buddhism. By reason of the Swadeshi spirit, a Hindu refuses to change his religion not necessarily because he considers it to be the best, but because he knows that he can complement it by introducing reforms. And what I have said about Hinduism is, I suppose, true of the other great faiths of

the world, only it is held that it is specially so in the case of Hinduism. But here comes the point I am labouring to reach. If there is any substance in what I have said, will not the great missionary bodies of India, to whom she owes a deep debt of gratitude for what they have done and are doing, do still better and serve the spirit of Christianity better by dropping the goal of proselytising but continuing their philanthropic work? I hope you will not consider this to be an impertinence on my part. I make the suggestion in all sincerity and with due humility. Moreover I have some claim upon your attention. I have endeavoured to study the Bible. I consider it as part of my scriptures. The spirit of the Sermon on the Mount competes almost on equal terms with the Bhagavad-Gita for the domination of my heart. I yield to no Christian in the strength of devotion with which I sing "Lead kindly light" and several other inspired hymns of a similar nature. I have come under the influence of noted Christian missionaries belonging to different denominations. And I enjoy to this day the privilege of friendship with some of them. You will perhaps therefore allow that I have offered the above suggestion not as a biased Hindu but as a humble and impartial student of religion with great leanings towards Christianity. May it not be that "Go Ye Unto All The World" message has been somewhat narrowly interpreted and the spirit of it missed? It will not be denied, I speak from experience, that many of the conversions are only so-called. In some cases the appeal has gone not to the heart but to the stomach. And in every case a conversion leaves a sore behind it

which, I venture to think, is avoidable. Quoting again from experience, a new birth, a change of heart, is perfectly possible in every one of the great faiths. I know I am now treading upon thin ice. But I do not apologise in closing this part of my subject, for saying that the frightful outrage that is just going on in Europe, perhaps shows that the message of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Peace, had been little understood in Europe, and that light upon it may have to be thrown from the East.

I have sought your help in religious matters, which it is yours to give in a special sense. But I make bold to seek it even in political matters. I do not believe that religion has nothing to do with politics. The latter divorced from religion is like a corpse only fit to be buried. As a matter of fact in your own silent manner you influence politics not a little. And I feel that if the attempt to separate politics from religion had not been made as it is even now made, they would not have degenerated as they often appear to do. No one considers that the political life of the country is in a happy state. Following out the Swadeshi spirit, I observe the indigenous institutions and the village panchayats hold me. India is really a republican country, and it is because it is that that it has survived every shock hitherto delivered. Princes and potentates, whether they were Indian born or foreigners, have hardly touched the vast masses except for collecting revenue. The latter in their turn seem to have rendered unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's and for the rest have done much as they have liked. The vast organisation of caste answered not only the religious wants of the community, but it answered to its political needs.

The villagers managed their internal affairs through the caste system, and through it they dealt with any oppression from the ruling power or powers. It is not possible to deny of a nation that was capable of producing the caste system its wonderful power of organisation. One had but to attend the great Kumbha Mela at Hardwar last year to know how skilful that organisation must have been, which without any seeming effort was able effectively to cater for more than a million pilgrims. Yet it is the fashion to say that we lack organising ability. This is true, I fear, to a certain extent, of those who have been nurtured in the new traditions. We have laboured under a terrible handicap owing to an almost fatal departure from the Swadeshi spirit. We the educated classes have received our education through a foreign tongue. We have therefore not reacted upon the masses. We want to represent the masses, but we fail. They recognise us not much more than they recognise the English officers. Their hearts are an open book to neither. Their aspirations are not ours. Hence there is a break. And you witness not in reality failure to organise but want of correspondence between the representatives and the represented. If during the last fifty years we had been educated through the vernaculars, our elders and our servants and our neighbours would have partaken of our knowledge; the discoveries of a Bose or a Ray would have been household treasures as are the Ramayan and the Mahabharat. As it is, so far as the masses are concerned, those great discoveries might as well have been made by foreigners. Had instruction in all the branches of learning been given through the

vernaculars, I make bold to say that they would have been enriched wonderfully. The question of village sanitation, etc. would have been solved long ago. The village Panchayats would be now a living force in a special way, and India would almost be enjoying self-government suited to its requirements and would have been spared the humiliating spectacle of organised assassination on its sacred soil. It is not too late to mend. And you can help if you will, as no other body or bodies can.

And now for the last division of Swadeshi. Much of the deep poverty of the masses is due to the ruinous departure from Swadeshi in the economic and industrial life. If not an article of commerce had been brought from outside India, she would be to-day a land flowing with milk and honey. But that was not to be. We were greedy and so was England. The connection between England and India was based clearly upon an error. But she does not remain in India in error. It is her declared policy that India is to be held in trust for her people. If this be true, Lancashire must stand aside. And if the Swadeshi doctrine is a sound doctrine, Lancashire can stand aside without hurt though it may sustain a shock for the time being. I think of Swadeshi not as a boycott movement undertaken by way of revenge. I conceive it as a religious principle to be followed by all. I am no economist, but I have read some treatises which show that England could easily become a self-sustained country, growing all the produce she needs. This may be an utterly ridiculous proposition, and perhaps the best proof that it cannot

be true is, that England is one of the largest importers in the world. But India cannot live for Lancashire or any other country before she is able to live for herself. And she can live for herself only if she produces and is helped to produce everything for her requirements within her own borders. She need not be, she ought not to be, drawn into the vortex of mad and ruinous competition which breeds fratricide, jealousy and many other evils. But who is to stop her great millionaires from entering into the world competition? Certainly not legislation. Force of public opinion, proper education, however, can do a great deal in the desired direction. The hand-loom industry is in a dying condition. I took special care during my wanderings last year to see as many weavers as possible, and my heart ached to find how they had lost, how families had retired from this once flourishing and honorable occupation. If we follow the Swadeshi doctrine, it would be your duty and mine to find out neighbours who can supply our wants and to teach them to supply them where they do not know how to, assuming that there are neighbours who are in want of healthy occupation. Then every village of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally producible. This may all sound nonsensical. Well, India is a country of nonsense. It is nonsensical to parch one's throat with thirst when a kindly Mahomedan is ready to offer pure water to drink. And yet thousands of Hindus would rather die of thirst than drink water from a Mahomedan household. These nonsensical men can also, once they are convinced that their religion

demands that they should wear garments manufactured in India only and eat food only grown in India, decline to wear any other clothing or eat any other food. Lord Curzon set the fashion for tea-drinking. And that pernicious drug now bids fair to overwhelm the nation. It has already undermined the digestive apparatus of hundreds of thousands of men and women and constitutes an additional tax upon their slender purses. Lord Hardinge can set the fashion for Swadeshi, and almost the whole of India will forswear foreign goods. There is a verse in the Bhagavat Gita which, freely rendered, means masses follow the classes. It is easy to undo the evil if the thinking portion of the community were to take the Swadeshi vow even though it may for a time cause considerable inconvenience. I hate legislative interference in any department of life. At best it is the lesser evil. But I would tolerate, welcome, indeed plead for stiff protective duty upon foreign goods. Natal, a British colony, protected its sugar by taxing the sugar that came from another British colony Mauritius. England has sinned against India by forcing free trade upon her. It may have been food for her, but it has been poison for this country.

It has often been urged that India cannot adopt Swadeshi in the economic life at any rate. Those who advance this objection do not look upon Swadeshi as a rule of life. With them it is a mere patriotic effort not to be made if it involved any self-denial. Swadeshi, as defined here, is a religious discipline to be undergone in utter disregard of the physical discomfort it may cause to individuals. Under its spell the deprivation of a pin

or a needle, because these are not manufactured in India, need cause no terror. A Swadeshist will learn to do without hundreds of things which to-day he considers necessary. Moreover, those who dismiss the Swadeshi from their minds by arguing the impossible forget that Swadeshi after all is a goal to be reached by steady effort. And we would be making for the goal even if we confined Swadeshi to a given set of articles allowing ourselves as a temporary measure to use such things as might not be procurable in the country.

There now remains for me to consider one more objection that has been raised against Swadeshi. The objectors consider it to be a most selfish doctrine without any warrant in the civilized code of morality. With them to practise Swadeshi is to revert to barbarism. I cannot enter into a detailed analysis of the proposition. But I would urge that Swadeshi is the only doctrine consistent with the law of humility and love. It is arrogance to think of launching out to serve the whole of India when I am hardly able to serve even my own family. It were better to concentrate my effort upon the family and consider that through them I was serving the whole nation and if you will the whole of humanity, This is humility and it is love. The motive will determine the quality of the act. I may serve my family regardless of the sufferings I may cause to others, as, for instance, I may accept an employment which enables me to extort money from people. I enrich myself thereby and then satisfy many unlawful demands of the family. Here I am neither serving the family nor the State. Or I may recognise that God has given me hands and feet

only to work with for my sustenance and for that of those who may be dependent upon me. I would then at once simplify my life and that of those whom I can directly reach. In this instance I would have served the family without causing injury to anyone else. Supposing that every one followed this mode of life, we would have at once an ideal state. All will not reach that state at the same time. But those of us who, realising its truth, enforce it in practice will clearly anticipate and accelerate the coming of that happy day. Under this plan of life, in seeming to serve India to the exclusion of every other country, I do not harm any other country. My patriotism is both exclusive and inclusive. It is exclusive in the sense that in all humility I confine my attention to the land of my birth, but it is inclusive in the sense that my service is not of a competitive or antagonistic nature. *Sic utere tuo ut alienum non leêdas* is not merely a legal maxim, but it is a grand doctrine of life. It is the key to a proper practice of *Akimsa* or love. It is for you, the custodians of a great faith, to set the fashion and show by your preaching, sanctified by practice, that patriotism based on " hatred killeth " and that patriotism based on "love giveth life."

MR. GLYN BARLOW M.A.*

When this book was first published, in the year 1903, the word 'Swadeshi' was not to be found within its pages, and this for the simple reason that the word had

* From "Industrial India" published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

not come into being, or, at any rate, was unknown to the writer. The Swadeshi spirit, however, pervaded the whole book, from the first capital letter to the last full-stop—so much so, indeed, that 'swadeshism' would have been almost as appropriate a title as 'Industrial India.' The term Swadeshi has now been imported into the Indo-English vocabulary, and has been so often upon people's lips that it has come to be as well-known a word as 'chalk' or 'cheese.' What with swadeshi preachers, swadeshi journalists, swadeshi pamphleteers, and literary symposiums of ideas upon swadeshism, every literate person in India must know what swadeshism means, and the reader may feel inclined to skip this chapter, in the idea that everything that can possibly be said on the subject has been said many times over already. But swadeshism is a good cause, and, at the risk of running into platitudes, the writer takes this opportunity of urging the cause under its own name.

It is a matter of satisfaction that swadeshism has not been mere futile talk. The voices of swadeshi preachers have not been voices crying in the wilderness; for swadeshi preachers have been listened to by dense crowds and with rapt attention. Nor can the swadeshi preachers complain that when they have piped to the people, the people have not danced, for at the end of their sermons they have had the satisfaction of hearing a roar of voices swearing acceptance of the swadeshi creed. And the roar has been no empty profession of belief; for, by preferential purchases of swadeshi goods, swadeshists have given practical proof of the faith that is in them.

In this practical proof of the genuineness of swadeshi resolutions, the swadeshi upheaval has been much more real than many a public movement that there has been before. A panegyric on some good man who has died is followed perhaps by a unanimous resolution that a memorial shall be established in the good man's honour; but it happens too often that although the unanimous memorialists are many, the subscribers are few, and the subscriptions of the few are for the most part promises, and, finally, an uncollected 'list of subscriptions' is the only memorial that the good man gets. A lecture on social reform is concluded amid 'loud applause'; but within a week of the lecture one of the applauding social reformers is calling in the barber to shave the head of his dead son's little widow; another is beggaring his family by running into debt for a grand neighbour-satisfying wedding for his eldest daughter: a third is indulging himself with his first—and by no means last—taste of whisky and soda. But with the crowds that have applauded swadeshi lectures it has been different. The people's hearts have beaten while their hands have clapped, and they have manifested the grace within them by spending their money upon Indian wares. The practical manifestation of the swadeshi spirit has been splendid; it has been a grand exhibition of the patriotism that was latent in the people's hearts, and India may be congratulated on the fact that her people can be so true to themselves.

No one can find any elements of crime in a swadeshi determination to buy none but Indian wares. There is no element of crime in a national effort to encourage the

purchase of national productions. Protectionists in England who advocate 'Imperial Protection' and urge the formation of a British and Colonial 'Zollverein', by which British and Colonial buyers would be encouraged to buy none but British and Colonial wares, are merely advocating a policy of Imperial swadeshism. While these lines are being written, great preparations are being made in England for what is to be called an "All-British Shopping Week"—a week during which, according to the proposal, shopkeepers shall be patriotic enough to expose for sale none but British goods, and buyers shall be patriotic enough to supply themselves with as many of their prospective needs as possible. This is a case of popular 'swadeshism for a week.' The Trades-marks Act was a swadeshi movement on the part of the British Government. It ruled that all foreign manufactures imported into British dominions should be stamped with the name of the country of their origin—that they should be stamped 'made in Germany' or 'made in Austria' as the case might be, and the purpose of the Act was undoubtedly based upon swadeshi principles.

As for the economic influences of a patriotic determination to buy none but swadeshi goods, it will be easily seen that such swadeshism is a species of protection; for it encourages the purchase of Indian production in preference to foreign importation. It is a system of protection instituted by the people themselves instead of by the Government. The economic effect of the swadeshi vow is the same as the economic effect of a protective tax. The British Government being

pledged to Free Trade, foreign goods are imported into India duty-free, and compete on equal terms with Indian wares. An import tax would disturb the equality in favour of the Indian manufacturer, and would accordingly tend to raise prices. Exactly the same conditions are brought about by an effective swadeshi vow. By a really effective swadeshi vow the Indian manufacturer would be given a practical monopoly of his trade, and would naturally raise his prices. The difference lies in the fact that an import-duty would be levied by the Government and would probably make many people grumble at increased prices, whereas, with the swadeshi vow, patriotic people tax themselves for the manufacturer's benefit and pay the increased prices with a patriotic goodwill.

The question of the appropriateness of the swadeshi vow is a question of Free Trade or Protection. The swadeshi vow is justifiable only if Protection is justifiable. With regard to India's industries, most of which are still in the infant stage, struggling with infant difficulties bnt giving promise of a healthy existence if once they could get over the dangers of infancy, it may be remarked that even many Free-traders agree with Mill in thinking that such infant industries should be given some strengthening food in the way of temporary protection; and it is just such protection as this that is afforded by an outburst of the swadeshi spirit.

It is certain that without some sort of protection it will be very difficult for some of India's infant industries to grow to manhood. Consider, for example, the glass

industry. In India, there is every requirement for the manufacture of glass, but Austria meanwhile has secured something that approaches a monopoly of the trade. With her large factories, manned by experienced workmen, and turning out glass tumblers by the tens of thousands, she can sell excellent tumblers in Indian bazaars at a price which would be ruinous to any newly-established factory in India, worked in the small and tentative manner of a new concern. If the Government of India were permitted to rule that for a term of, say, ten years she would assist the Indian glass-industry by giving Indian glass-manufacturers a bonus—a 'bounty' as it is called—on all the Indian-made glass that they might sell, the Indian glass industry would be given a good start, and at the end of the ten years either an Indian glass industry would have been established or the ill-success of the Indian glass-trade would prove that the industry was not suited to the country. In either case the duty could be brought appropriately to an end. The recent action of the Secretary of State in forbidding the Government of Madras to foster industries at Government expense makes it manifest that for the present at any rate there is no hope of such bounties; and it is in cases like these that self-sacrificing swadeshism might do good; for in the case of preferential purchases in the name of swadeshism bounties are included in the price that is paid.

It may be well to remark that it would be a false swadeshism that would induce the partriotic Indian to hold it as an economic principle that any and every foreign production, agricultural or manufactured, should be boycotted in favour of Indian goods. Different countries are

specially fitted for different productions, and in the economy of nations, each country, while producing in large quantities those goods for the production of which it is best fitted, should be ready to accept other goods from abroad in exchange. Cicero was by nature a great orator but a poor poet, yet, instead of being content with his oratorical gifts, he insisted on producing poetry, and his poetical productions brought him discredit,—and countries are as diversified in their natural gifts as men. At the same time, it may be remembered that India is something more than a 'country'; her extent is so great and her natural resources are so varied that the limitations of Indian swadeshism are the smallest. But if foreign wares are to be boycotted, the boycotting must be not because they are foreign but because India can supply her own needs economically and can do without foreign goods.

In any departure from Free Trade principles there is always a danger; and there is always the possibility that a temporary outburst of swadeshi enthusiasm might in the end prove to have been as harmful as protection of the ordinary kind. To show how this might happen, it may be observed that under the influence of swadeshi enthusiasm the demand for local productions might be greatly increased. It would be a natural consequence, therefore that manufacturers would seek to increase their supplies—that they would set up additional machinery—that they would increase the number of their workmen—and that new factories also would be started. If swadeshi enthusiasm were then to cool down—as in the very nature of things it would be

likely sooner or later to do—the result would be that when swadeshi protection had been withdrawn, foreign wares would compete with swadeshi goods as before, and the swadeshi supply would be greater than the demand. Workmen would accordingly be thrown out of work, factories would be closed, manufacturers would be ruined, industry would be set back. It may be a fact that something of this sort has occurred already ; but we may hope that during the recent outburst of swadeshi enthusiasm the people of India have learned that Indian articles can be as good as foreign productions and that the filip that has been given to Indian industries will be permanent in its effect.

It is important indeed to realise the fact that swadeshism is a sentiment, and that it is always a question how long a sentiment will last. Life is a very stern reality,

> For men must work, and women must weep,
> And there's little to earn and many to keep ;

and it is too much to expect that swadeshi enthusiasm will always be so vigorous that the struggling husband or wife will for ever be willing to spend eight annas on an article of Indian make if an equally good article of foreign-make can be bought for six or seven. It is well that the rising industries of India have been encouraged by an appeal to the patriotism of the people ; for patriotism is an ennobling sentiment, and it influences the spirit for its improvement. But sentiment, when it is in conflict with the purse, is altogether unreliable in a work-a-day world ; and swadeshism, if it is really to lead

to prosperity, must be set upon an economic basis. India's industrialism will not have been assured until the people of India have learned to buy Indian wares for their own sake—not merely because they are Indian but because they are cheap and good.

During the recent manifestation of Swadeshi enthusiasm, the Swadeshi preachers appealed to the patriotism of the Indian buyer, but they should have appealed also to the patriotism of the Indian seller and of the Indian manufacturer too ; for the appeal to the buyer alone has tended in some measure to delay the ideal of Swadeshism founded upon an economic basis ; for when the Swadeshi enthusiasm was at its height and buyers were pledged to buy Indian goods alone, a number of small manufacturers and small dealers tried to make an unfair profit out of the patriotic spirit of the people. Inferior articles were often offered for sale at prices considerably beyond their worth, in the idea that the mere fact that they were 'Swadeshi' would induce patriotic buyers to give them the preference. The word 'Swadeshi' became a catchpenny head-line for newspaper advertisements and for tradesmen's hand-bills, in respect sometimes of goods which in point of price—and often of excellence—had little but 'Swadeshi' to recommend them. This sort of thing does much harm to the Swadeshi cause—which will not have been assured until the manufacturer and the dealer have learned to be as patriotic as the buyer, and until India's industrial productions stand admittedly on their own merits. The patriotic buyer must be made to feel that he should prefer Swadeshi goods not only in the patriotism of his spirit but also in his con-

fidence that the dealer is not trying to cheat him in the name of Swadeshism and that he is getting the best value for his money. It is a matter of much satisfaction that very many of India's manufactured goods are of the first quality, and that her manufactures are developing fast. Happy will it be for India's industrialism when they have so developed that the term 'Swadeshi' will be a recognised symbol of excellence and of economy. In this chapter, then, we would appeal not only to the patriotism of the buyer alone, but to the patriotism of the manufacturer and of the dealer too. If the buyer is to be patriotic enough to stand firmly by Swadeshi goods, the manufacturer and the dealer should be patriotic enough to see to it that their Swadeshi wares shall do India credit.

For such a well-worn subject as Swadeshism this chapter has been sufficiently long. It has attempted to show that outbursts of swadeshi enthusiasm among the purchasing public are protective in their nature—that they may tend to encourage rising industries, but that, as in all protection, a danger underlies them. It has condemned a blind and unreasoning Swadeshism. It has urged that the seller must be as patriotic as the buyer and that true Swadeshism must be a blending of patriotism and economy.

LORD CARMICHAEL.*

"Swadeshism" is a very practical form of patriotism. It stands quite apart from any protective wall of tariffs, or from any political feelings of exclusion. Small industries in Bengal are well worth helping. But what is most needed in their industries is organisation in bringing together those who make things and those who want to buy them. * * * * Nothing can be done on a large scale without capital. Up to now Bengal industries have depended for the most part on European capital, greatly to the benefit of both Europe and Bengal. But there is plenty of room for Bengali capital, too, and it is only Bengalis who can provide that. The Government may help your boys to get knowledge which will fit them to produce wealth as well as the boys of any country can. But if they are to have a chance of using their knowledge, there must be openings for them, and capital is needed to give openings. I would merely ask you to remember that your industries have to compete with industries financed by capitalists, who are not accustomed to getting the interest which is often looked for by Bengali investors, and that until there are men willing to invest money with the prospect of a return no higher than that which suffices for the investor from other countries, it is useless to hope for very great development. I am sure, however, that Bengali rich men are patriotic, and I am sure they are intelligent. I hope, therefore, you may look forward

*Speech in opening the third Session of the Swadeshi Mela at Calcutta on the 5th September, 1913.

confidently to the time when it will be clearly shown that Bengal is a country, whose people make the fullest use of her natural advantages. This Mela is meant as a step in this direction.

HON. SIR FAZULBHOY CARRIMBHOY EBRAHIM.*

The textile industry had greatly strengthened its position by adding to its reserves, and improving its machinery during the boom years, and was (during the year now closing) in far better economic condition than at any previous time. They were also spinning better yarn, weaving better cloth, and developing the bleaching and dyeing industries. If they conducted their trade honestly and steadily and improved the quality of their output, they would, through the operation of the *Swadeshi* movement, gradually capture the greater part, if not the whole, of the Indian markets.

THE HON. MR. M. B. DADABHOY, C. I. E., BAR-AT-LAW.†

We all must deplore India's present fiscal dependence upon England. The British Government from its constitution has to depend upon the Parliamentary support of the powerful British manufacturer; and he will be a bold minister who will do anything to intercept

* From the address to the Bombay Mill-owners' Association in May, 1909.

† From the Presidential address to the Calcutta Industrial Conference, December, 1911.

his large profits. India, in the result, is governed in his interest, which is clearly opposed to that of Industrial India. It is devoutly to be wished that India will have ultimately fiscal autonomy and a protective tariff.

So long as this blessed consummation does not take place it is, in my opinion, proper and legitimate for the people to practise *Swadeshi*. The right of civilised citizenship carries with it the freedom of purchase and use of commodities; and if Indians in their patriotic zeal for the revival and development of the indigenous industries prefer home-made articles to foreign import there is no rational cause for complaint. That is quite within the "honest *Swadeshi*" Lord Minto as Viceroy commended. As an economic principle this preference of home-made articles is sound. *Swadeshi* has nothing to do with politics. The feeling has been in existence for years. There is no causal connection between the two. It has unhappily come to have a political complexion from an adventitious circumstance which is foreign to its nature, scope and purpose, and now that Royal grace has so thoughtfully removed the cause of bitterness by reuniting the two Bengals under a Governor-in-Council, I earnestly hope this estimable industrial method will not be made to subserve political ends. In my estimation the present feeling of the people is invaluable for its utility in a scheme of industrial development. But it should be divested of all aggressiveness, racial antipathy and spitefulness. It is well for the people to understand that the recent outburst of anarchism has done incalculable harm to Indian industrial interests. In some manufactures it is impossible to make headway without the support of some

such feeling as *Swadeshi*. Certain articles of Indian manufacture have to be sold abroad from a regrettable absence of local demand. Not that those articles are not wanted for consumption or that they are in any way inferior to imported articles. We get our supply from abroad while some of the most advanced countries happen to be our principal buyers. This phenomenon has been noticed by Mr. Cumming in his Report:—

"In the manufacture of pig-iron surely there is something wrong when the Indian requirements are met by orders from England, while the Bengal Iron and Steel Company have to seek a market outside of India in Australia. In 1906-07, 1,996 tons were sent abroad from Bengal principally to Australia."

Since the Government of India is anxious to stimulate production in India, it should encourage the people as much as practicable to use home-made goods in preference to foreign imports. The people should be supported in their attempt to provide the protection which, from its dependence upon a pronounced Free Trade country, Government cannot sanction immediately. As Prince Bismark said, "Let us close our doors awhile." If the ports cannot be closed, let the markets be closed by inoffensive, lawful and constitutional methods.

SIR R. N. MOOKERJEE*.

We must not lose sight of the smaller industries, such as tanning, dyeing, soap and match-making and sugar manufacturing concerns which only require a capital ranging from Rs. 50,000 to two lakhs. These have, of late, got an impetus from the Swadeshi movement, inaugurated 3 or 4 years ago. But for want of practical support on the part of men of our middle classes these concerns are not thriving as much as we could wish. There is no lack of so-called enthusiasm, but I may be pardoned if I say it is only lip-enthusiasm on the part of many of our countrymen. There are many who are loud in their praises of Swadeshism and the revival of Indian industries, but their patriotism is not equal to the practical test of assisting in the finance of such enterprises. Amongst the most prosperous of our middleclass men are those of the legal profession, and members of that profession, owing to their higher and better education, are the natural leaders of the middle classes. They represent us in Councils, in Municipalities, in short, in all public bodies. If these gentlemen, who are so ready in offering suggestions for the encouragement of Indian industries, would each put down, say but one month's earnings out of a whole year, for investment in industrial concerns, there would be less difficulty in raising capital for the development of our industries. I count many personal and intimate friends amongst the members of legal profession, and I hope they know

* From the Presidential Address to the sixth Industrial Conference, Allahabad, December, 1910.

me well enough not to take amiss the charge I have brought against them. I feel sure that they, themselves, will admit it is not unfounded.

As I have said before, a great stimulus has been given to the promotion, improvement, and expansion of small industries by the recent revival of Swadeshi feeling. In this land of ours, from time immemorial up to the middle of the last century, our artisans and craftsmen were justly celebrated, all over the world, for their skill, and the products of their craftsmanship were in great demand in foreign countries. But from the middle of the last century, that is, from the period when steam power was perfected and manufacturing science made such great strides, our manufactures have steadily declined and our industries have languished. To such perfection has manufacturing by machinery now been brought that it has become impossible for our artisans and craftsmen to make even the scantiest livelihood and the industries are consequently either dead or moribund. This is a matter of common knowledge. But what I should like to emphasise and especially draw your attention to, is that for want of elementary education, the artisan and craftsmen classes, even if they had the necessary capital, cannot appreciate the advantage of introducing the machinery to cheapen the cost of production. They are very conservative in their ideas, and nothing but the spread of education amongst this class will induce them to welcome and make use of mechanical improvements, which would enable them to compete on more equal terms with the machine-made production. I have come in contact, in my experience of over 25 years, with thousands of

artisans and mechanics of different grades. Their natural intelligence and hereditary aptitude make them skilful workmen in their respective callings, and they do their work, under proper guidance, with a care and skill in no way inferior to the same class of workmen in any part of the world. But, being universally illiterate and thus shut out from a knowledge of any improved methods in their respective trades, they make no advancement or progress throughout their lives and are content to continue working on lines that for generations have become obsolete. They are handicapped by the want of that primary education which their fellow-workmen in other countries have enjoyed for several generations. This state of things has, for some time, been felt to be unsatisfactory and the Indian Government have recently created a separate education department for the better advancement of education. The time is therefore opportune for this Conference to approach the Government, to extend the system of primary education, and, when the time is ripe, to make the elementary education compulsory.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF DHURBHANGHA.*

It is also a gratifying and healthy feature of the new spirit of commercial enterprise in India that the establishment of purely Swadeshi Banks under experienced management and possessing ample capital, is going

* From Presidential Address to the fifth Industrial Conference, Lahore, 1909.

on in all quarters of India, and there is ample room for more of these institutions for helping on the expansion of industrial enterprise.

I have mentioned the word "Swadeshi" freed from the somewhat bitter accretions which recently clung to it. It is a term of fine import. For it simply means our whole-hearted purpose of doing all we can to foster and develop by all the means in our power the resources of our country. We are sometimes misled into false notions of the prosperity of a country by simply looking at the statistics of its international trade and commerce which are about six times as great as the volume of exports and imports, and it is the stregthening and increasing and multiplying of our internal trade, that enables us to export the surplus we do not require in exchange for articles we do not produce for ourselves.

PROF. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJEE, M. A*.

The proverbial immobility of the Indian craftsman is, in fact, horizontal, not vertical.

He is capable of improvement in his own special line and may adopt better tools, machinery and scientific improvements wherever these are actually proved to be economically successful. We may cite, as a modern instance, the case of the Serampur hand-looms. In effecting these improvements we may consult the plan of work in the technical schools of Naples. It is therefore these here-

* Speech at the Industrial Conference at Allahabad, Dec. 1910.

ditary craftsmen that will have to be organised in small factories or workshops by the present Indian *entrepreneurs* who must carefully avoid employing indiscriminately unskilled labourers drawn from the general population. Want of due regard for this principle is responsible for the failure of many an industrial concern which placed too much reliance on literate classes or general unskilled labour. The many experiments that have been made in Bengal since the Swadeshi movement to convert our middle class literate young men into weavers of an improved class have all ended in miserable failures and, by creating a widespread pessimism, have, to some extent, set back the tide of progress towards independent livelihood. To similar causes is also to be traced the failure of agricultural forms which neglected to employ hereditary peasants.

REV. H. FAIRBANK.*

(Principal, Sir D. M. Petit Industrial School, Ahmednagar.)

The "Swadeshi Movement" must extend into the Christian Communities in such a way, that they will be left independent if all the missionaries were packed off to the countries from which they originally came.

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* From speech at the Allahabad Industrial Conference in December, 1910.

26. DEWAN BAHADUR AMBALAL S. DESAI.*

The new propaganda termed the Swadeshi movement requires some remarks. The aim of this movement is the establishment of new industries in India; by means of Indian capital, if possible, so that the Indian people may be, as far as practicable, self-contained and independent of the foreign imports, that now flood the land.

The justification of the movement consists in the fact that the country has been impoverished during the last century by the inroads of outside manufactures on its old industries, so that it is now unable to supply its population even with the necessaries of life. The foreign goods now imported are not, economically speaking, indispensable. The materials of many of them are produced in the country, and an ample supply of labour is ready to hand. The Swadeshi movement ultimately seeks to call into existence the directing capacity, the technical skill, and the requisite capital, so that our own labour and money may convert our raw materials into the commodities which we now import.

There is a general consensus of opinion that the endeavour to establish new industries in India is very laudable in itself. The Government of India favours it. Every new factory established, every banking institution created, every steamship launched, is hailed by men of all shades of opinion. Scholarships for obtaining technical instruction outside the country are given, to a small extent, by the Government of India, to a larger extent by public

* From the Presidential Address delivered to the Industrial Conference at Surat, December, 1907.

bodies and public spirited citizens, while many enterprising and high-spirited youths go abroad at their own expense to acquire high technical proficiency. So far there is no radical difference of opinion.

Honest and patriotic men all over the country are trying their best to induce our countrymen to adjure the use of foreign goods altogether, in favour of indigenous ones of the same description. These earnest efforts, which are gradually spreading over all parts of the land, are viewed differently by different persons. So far as the methods are accompanied by unlawful acts of violence and intimidation, they deserve to be severely condemned. But unlawfulness apart, there is nothing in them that any honest man can seriously object to. The economic ideas of men differ in many points and a difference on this one is allowable. But no candid man ought to stigmatize these patriotic efforts as dishonest. They are perfectly legitimate.

But the statement may be ventured that even, from an economic point of view, they are not only justifiable, but urgently needed. The protection of new or nascent industries by means of high import duties and by bounties, is held to be allowable by some of the highest authorities of the Free Trade school of Political Economy. If the state in India had been identified in economic interests with the Indian people, some measure of protection might have been adopted by it long ago. But the Government of India, being the representative in India of Free Trade Britain, is not at liberty at present to afford economic protection in any form to Indian industries. The people of India ought, therefore, to step into

the vacuum, and do by *voluntary protection* what the State might have achieved in an easier way by tariffs and bounties. Thus, the Swadeshi propaganda is, in essence, an endeavour to reinforce the cause of Indian industries by enlisting the Indian patriotic sentiment on its behalf. It is difficult to see how any objection can exist against such a move. Organized voluntary efforts are specially needed now in all departments of national activity. The Swadeshi movement is the application of this principle to that of national industrial regeneration.

In finally determining the utility of the movement our view need not be restricted to the Free Trade fomulæ of English economists. Almost all the independent nations of Europe and America are at the present day encouraging their own industries by means of high tariff barriers and bounties. Germany and America are the two most prominent instances before us. Why should not Indians do by voluntary effort what these two nations are doing by the collective action of their States?

That this line of conduct is correct, is proved by actual experience. The Finance Minister, in his Budget statement, last March, recognized that the Swadeshi movement had resulted in the contraction of imports of cotton goods to the tune of more than a *crore* of rupees, indigenous manufactures having replaced them. An impetus is given to the hand-loom industry in Bengal and elsewhere, such as it had not felt for nearly a century, and large numbers of our countrymen have obtained a living thereby. There is an all-round industrial revival due to the Swadeshi propaganda. Fifteen Banks with a total capital of nearly 4 *crores* have sprung into existence. Five

navigation companies with a capital of 121 *lakhs* have been started. 22 new cotton mills with a capital of nearly 2 *crores* have been established. Two jute mills, several oil-presing mills, sugar factories, and mining and mineral companies, besides many that are not known, have been launched. (These figures are taken from R. B. Lala Baijnath's speech at the U. P. Conference.) In the department of cotton-spinning and weaving, the number of spindles has risen from 50 to 60 *lakhs* and of looms from 45 to 60 thousand. These gratifying results are largely attributable to the Swadeshi propaganda, and to the Swadeshi spirit which it has aroused. In the face of these results, it is not reasonable to cavil at the Swadeshi movement.

There are well-meaning people who urge that the propaganda imposes an extra burden on the poor or that it deteriorates taste and workmanship. Now, it is not always true that any extra burden is suffered by our poorer countrymen on account of the Swadeshi movement. In several cases, the propaganda has been only the means of advertising widely Indian goods of admirable quality and cheapness, which were languishing for want of support. In some cases, the preference for our own goods has indeed implied a small and often imperceptible sacrifice. But all protection implies such a sacrifice. When a State imposes a high tariff against foreign imports to bolster up a nascent industry, the sacrifice is equally real. Why should it be grudged because it is voluntarily borne? As to taste and quality it is not always the case that the Indian article is inferior to the foreign. Often the reverse is the fact. The element of durability again is generally

in favour of our products, and often goes far to counterbalance the loss in point of superficial finish. Lastly, there is no ground for the fear that patronizing crude articles will cause a permanent deterioration of our workmanship. Such patronage can, at the best, be very temporary, and competition among our own producers is bound, in the long run, to keep up the quality. The poor ultimately gain by the extended employment that arises for their labour.

Of the four elements of national manufacturing prosperity, *viz.*, raw materials, technical skill, capital and demand, the demand is the dominating factor which gives direction, shape and substance to productive activity. Now, our resources in raw materials are abundant. Technical skill can be created gradually, and for our immediate purposes we can rely upon importing it from outside. I have already dwelt upon the question of augmenting our capital. As to demand, it is very extensive in India. Thus all that is necessary to do at present is to make the demand flow in such a way that it may fertilize native industries instead of foreign ones. All the foremost nations of the world are endeavouring at present to get wider and wider markets for their goods. Their political action is largely governed by this policy. In their mutual jealousy and competition, they insist on an open door for all—notably in the vast Asiatic countries. The ordinary weapon used by these nations, is that of making their goods cheap to the consumer, of lessening the cost of transport by subsidizing shipping lines, of practising economy in production and utilising scientific inventions. They rely in the last resort on an appeal to the *avarice* of the foreign consumer.

Now, it is permissible to inquire why a nation situated like ours, and deprived of all means of enforcing its will by collective action, may not seek to extend its industries by appealing to a higher sentiment than avarice, viz., patriotism. Even royal personages have commended such an appeal and enforced it by their example.

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27. Mr. HARRY ORMEROD.*

Late Editor of the "Madras Times" and of "The Daily Post," Bangalore.

Sincere sympathy with the Swadeshi movement, which should be absolutely non-political in character, dictates a suggestion that its advocates would do well to study their ground well, and then to advance with prudent boldness. Without attempting anything like a comprehensive review, of a many-sided subject, I jot down one or two points, that seem to be deserving of consideration.

The basis of commercial expansion in any country is the industry of the farmer and the manufacturer. It is not sufficient to try to advance the interests of the farmer or the manufacturer alone. From the very outset, the Swadeshi movement must keep the dual object in view. In other words, it must have as bases two "power stations"—the one agricultural, the other manufacturing. This will not lead to friction or discord. Though working separately, these two generating stations will co-operate. They will develop power, side by side, and, in practice, they will act and react beneficially, the one upon the other.

* Reprint from the *Indian Review.*

The interdependence of agricultural and manufacturing industrialism, their mutual helpfulness, the full play of the forces that each can bring to bear for the advancement of the common interests of the two, must not be lost sight of. As an example, to manufacture sugar in India from raw material, the product of this country, is not sufficient to assure success. We must get at the root of the problem. The raw material must be produced at the lowest possible cost and of the best quality that can be grown in this country. Based chiefly upon agriculture, industrial progress in India should have before it a great future ; but it is imperative that attention be given to both the producing and the manufacturing branches of the work. Nor should the mineral resources of the earth be overlooked. The main object is to make nature yield her best, from deep below as well as near to the surface, and to complete within India as advanced a stage of manufacture or preparation of natural products as may be possible.

There is another branch, too, that must not be neglected : that is the distribution, on the most favourable terms, of raw material and of prepared or manufactured commodities.

More has to be aimed at than the success of the particular industries, large or small, that may be taken in hand. Manual dexterity, mental grasp, ability to organise and to control—thorough efficiency, in fact,—that is what has to be sought, and in the search some, if not all, of the enterprising men who take the lead will learn that the labours of the individual are of small

account when campared with the co-operation of communities. If they succeed, they will see the communities, that thus co-operate, actuated by the spirit that work of this kind breathes into the workers; and that spirit is essential to the wider development of industrial effort.

Wealth will not be secured by making the people consume articles of Indian origin alone. In however small way the Swadeshi movement be experimented with at first, the possibilities of the future must not be underestimated. The goal should be the ultimate production of many stable commodities, of standards, and at rates of cost, that shall enable the people not merely to supply their own requirements, to the exclusion of foreign staples of a like kind, but to provide a surplus for export. If success is to be achieved, there must be a general application of the principle of division of labor. Let this start in the home, by all means; but it must extend by degrees until it embraces first the community; then the nation; and finally, the nations. A policy of commercial isolation, of complete self-dependence and nothing more, were a futile policy. In its highest form, the principle under reference, like the trade to which it tends to give vitality and force, is cosmopolitan; nationalism is but one of the stages that mark its evolution. Money brains and labor are all essential to the development of the Swadeshi movement; but, above all, there must be an aspiration, however vague, towards what may be called the light. The people of India must be strong in the determination to achieve commercial and industrial independence, as far as may be, and

beyond this, to make this country a trade centre that will attract the merchants of other nations. Some industries may be conducted on a small scale as advantageously as on a larger; but there are others where economy of production is greatly dependent upon magnitude of operations.

Proceeding "along the lines of least resistance," substituting Indian for imported wares at the points where such substitution involves the least loss, the votaries of Swadeshi will not only make an impression of foreign competition, but will by degrees gain successes, entire or partial, that will stimulate fresh effort. As the movement advances along such lines, the point of view will change, and new fields of enterprise will reveal themselves before the old have been fully opened up.

28. THE HON. SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI IYER.*

I now pass from the field of education to the question of the industrial situation of this country and the efforts to be made for its retrievement. There is no doubt that during the last 5 or 6 years, there has been an awakening of your people to the need for improving the industrial position of your country. I regard the Swadeshi movement as nothing more nor less than a patriotic attempt to improve the industrial position of the country by the revival of decaying industries, the introduction of new industries for which there may be facilities in the country and the encouragement of arts

* From the Presidential address to the Tanjore District Conference.

and manufactures. It has been felt that an agricultural country must necessarily be at the mercy of the seasons, that it is a great waste of wealth to export the raw materials of our country to distant places and import the manufactures made with those raw materials, and that the only means of strengthening our economic position is the establishment of industries which can utilize the abundant natural resources of the country. If the establishment of manufactures is the thing to be aimed at, it is doubtful whether the revival of those industries which cannot successfully compete with the factory system, will be of much good in the way of bringing about the desired change. The revival of some of the decaying industries like the hand-loom industry, has, however, another aspect which cannot fail to appeal to us in the strongest possible manner. Whether the hand-loom industry will survive a competition with the power-loom or not, it must take a considerable time before we can hope to establish textile manufactures and during this interval, great hardship will be suffered by the population which is now engaged in textile occupations. The encouragement of our hand-loom weavers and the improvement of their technical skill is urgently required in the interest of humanity as much as of economy. The main difficulties in the way of the industrial regeneration of the country are the want of co-operation and the consequent lack of capital, and the want of technical knowledge. Technical education in the higher sense of the term cannot be now acquired in this country, and the people are entitled to ask the Government to provide the necessary facilities for technical education.

29. MR. G. S. ARUNDALE, M.A., LL.B.

It is very satisfactory to see the growing interest displayed by the people in enterprises for the support of home industries ; it is a significant sign of the times that a lecture on Swadeshism, delivered by no matter whom, is seen to attract a large gathering, and that the mention of the word "Swadeshi" will invariably receive an ample measure of applause. It is also gratifying to see that purely Indian business concerns are being started in various parts of the country to meet the spreading desire for Indian-made articles.

But it must be remembered that the Swadeshi movement is not of recent origin ; there have been many purely Indian firms successfully competing with the products of the Western markets ; and many people have been putting the principles of Swadeshism into practice long before the present impetus gave those principles a prominence, which they certainly have hitherto lacked. Now it cannot be denied Swadeshism has up to the present had but a poor amount of success ; home-made articles—with some few exceptions—are distinctly inferior to those of foreign-make, and the business principles of the Swadeshi firms have for the most part been conspicuous by their absence, and I can bear my personal testimony to the lack of energy displayed on many occasions in the execution of orders for home-made articles. For these reasons, the Swadeshi movement has not been prospering and it behoves those of us who are genuinely eager to advance the movement to

From the "*Hindustan Review*," December, 1906.

ascertain what has been wanting and to supply the want. The fresh lease of life which has now been given, the burning enthusiasm of large numbers of people, the religious exhortations which are being pronounced, all these, in my opinion, will not serve to put the Swadeshi movement on a firm businesslike basis, and without this basis nothing lasting or of real benefit to India can be effected.

Many friends tell me that they make a point of purchasing Indian-made articles even though they be greatly inferior to and much more expensive than the corresponding foreign article, and they explain this procedure by arguing that in the beginning, it is necessary to encourage the Indian manufacturer to turn out an Indian-made article whether that article be good or bad, for in course of time he will gain experience and, being helped in his early struggles, will be able to reach a point when a superior article will be produced. I cannot help wondering whether this artificial fostering of inferior goods may not lull the manufacturer into the comfortable idea that whatever he produces will "do," and that money expended in efforts to improve the articles he manufactures, is so much waste.

Be this as it may, and even assuming that this policy is sound, it will be denied by none that every care must be taken to improve the quality of the home-made manufactures, and this being the case, I venture to point out one or two great difficulties which lie in our path and to suggest what seem to me to be the means of overcoming those difficulties. In the first place there is, as I have

already mentioned, a lack of promptitude, which is the despair of customers. It may be argued that customers must be prepared to sacrifice something in support of their principles, and they must be willing to suffer considerable inconvenience. Perhaps for the time being, this argument may appeal to many; it may be of some force so long as the present excitement lasts; but the present excitement cannot last for ever, it will—at last—settle down into a steady, sober, calm and *reasoning* Swadeshism, and then these associations, companies, firms, and what not, which have had a hot house growth under the exceptional warmth of popular favour will burst, as the South Sea bubble burst, and the last condition will be worse than the first, for people will begin to mistrust. Lack of promptitude in business matters means all the world over a money loss, and there are few people who are willing to lose money, if they can avoid it. In the second place, there is the inferiority in the quality of the articles. The same arguments will of course be advanced in favour of accepting inferior goods and the same answer suffices here. But it cannot be denied that articles as good as the foreign made can be obtained, if only we knew where to find them. The market is as much overflooded with inferior articles which at present enjoy the benefits of an artificial demand that it is difficult to discover the really good manufactures which deserve our hearty support. Let me illustrate this by an example. In the Central Hindu College, we have a Book and Stationery Depôt, intended mainly for the benefit of students in which we desire to stock nothing but Indian-made articles, except, of course, as regards

books. Now it happens to be my duty to look after this Depôt, and I must frankly confess that I do not know where to get my stock. Of course, I can get Indian-made pencils, knives, nibs, penholders, exercise and copy books, etc., etc., and I do get them and students by them readily, but I have the uneasy consciousness that I cannot hit upon the really good article. I am dependent upon newspaper advertisements and upon the advice of well-meaning friends, in my search for the Depôt requisites ; the former describe the goods from the seller's point of view and the latter is generally based on insufficient data. The result is, that I am frequently forced to purchase foreign-made goods, where Indian-made may be quite as good—only I do not know where to get them.

This brings me to the suggestions I desire to make. We all know that the lion hall-mark on a piece of silver indicates to us and guarantees its quality, that the name of a firm is often in itself an assurance as to the quality of the goods bearing the name. Let this be introduced for the differentiation of the good from the bed in home-made articles. I venture to suggest that some patriotic and public spirited gentlemen should form themselves into a society, say at Calcutta, and that society should issue a list—monthly or quarterly—of all firms manufacturing Indian-made goods of good quality, giving the kinds of articles with the various prices. This society might have agents or correspondents throughout India, whose duty it would be, to find out from what persons the goods of their particular district might most advantageously be purchased, both as regards quality and price. The list issued by the

society should be obtainable from the agents at a small cost and might be sent per V. P. P. to anyone requiring it. It might even take the form of what I may call a small Swadeshi Gazette in which articles on Indian industries might appear, describing the processes of manufacture in operation in the firms obtaining the official approval of the society. By this means, the public would obtain information as to the best firms to go to for home-made articles, the firms themselves would benefit by the stimulus thus given to their manufactures, and the Swadeshi movement itself would be placed on a good business-like footing which would ensure its spreading quietly, but none the less widely.

Subscribers to the "Gazette" might, moreover, be requested to communicate their experiences in connections with their dealing with the firms, so that it might be ascertained as to how far promptitude, courtesy, quality and price are satisfactory.

I leave to others the task, if my idea be thought worthy of being put into action, of elaborating the scheme I have suggested in outline. We are willing to pay a little more for the home-made article, provided, that its quality be practically equal to that of the foreign-made equivalent, but it would be an inestimable boon to those of us who have the true interest of Swadeshism at least to know *where* we can get the well-made Indian articles and to know that we shall not have to complain of the absence of business principles on the part of the manufacturers.

30. SIR CHARLES ELLIOT, K.C.M.G.*

The Swadeshi movement is, comparatively speaking, reasonable, and addresses itself to practical issues. It has a double character. First of all, it is a political protest against the Partition of Bengal. As such, it has been obviously ineffectual, and is probably doomed to extinction. But it has also an economic side, inasmuch as it is a protest, against the decadence of native industries and an attempt to revive them. As such, it can hardly fail to have the sympathy of everyone specially interested in India, for the most striking feature in the Indian economic position at the present day is the small part played by manufactures and industries. India is an enormous producer and exporter of raw materials and food-stuffs, but for the ordinary articles of everyday life, for such homely necessaries as cotton clothes, metal vessels, oil and matches, it depends on the foreign manufacturer to an extent, probably unparalleled among civilised counties. Only 20 per cent. of the exports consist of manufactured goods, and about 2,288,000,000 yards of cotton are imported, which allows between seven and eight years, per head to the whole population.

It must be admitted that in this matter, the conduct of the British Government has not been beyond criticism. In 1894, when the value of the rupee was very low and a deficit of 168 lakhs had to be faced, a general duty of 5 per cent. on imports was imposed. Cotton goods were at first excepted, but this aroused great opposition in India. Then the 5 per cent. duty was applied to imported cotton

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* From a contribution to the *Westminster Gazette*.

goods, and at the same time, to meet the objections of Lancashire manufacturers; a corresponding excise duty was imposed on certain classes of cotton yarns, produced in India mills. But this arrangement raised further objections, and in 1896, a uniform duty of 3½ per cent. was levied on all woven goods, whether imported or manufactured in India. The arrangment can be justified to economists, as an instance of a non-preferential tariff, more readily than to Indian manufacturers; and a statesman might plead the very complex character of the British Empire and the need of satisfying Lancashire as well as India. But it is natural that those, whose first consideration is the welfare of India, should feel aggrieved, if Indian cotton manufactures are hampered by the imposition of a duty, which in most countries is applied exclusively to foreign goods. In spite of all explanations and justifications, the fact remains that this excise in practice seems to discourage the industries, which admittedly require most encouragement. As has been pointed out in the recent controversy, the principle which the Swadeshis have tried to enforce by an anti-British boycott, received the sanction of the Indian Government, in a resolution passed in 1883, which stated that this Government was "desirous to give the utmost encouragement to every effort to substitute for articles now obtained from Europe, articles, of *bona fide* local manufacture or indigenous origin," and Lord Curzon, speaking at Delhi in 1902, used similar but more eloquent language, about Indian arts and handicrafts. Even more weighty is the testimony of the Famine Commissioners of 1880 to the importance of the question. "No remedy for present

evils can be complete," they say, "which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations, through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such employment." Yet twelve years later, in 1902, we find the official Census Report for Bengal stating that "the introduction of machinery in Europe not only killed the export trade, but flooded the country with cheap piece-goods and has so seriously crippled the indigenous manufacture that many persons belonging to the weaver caste have been driven to abandon the loom for the plough. The manufacture of silk also is decadent."

It is hard, therefore, to blame the principles of the Swadeshi leaders, however much we may mislike their methods and the violence of their language. It is an absurd exaggeration to say that England has ruined India, economically. The whole economic and commercial growth of Calcutta and Bombay is due to European influence, especially the jute industry; and native manufactures, though not as flourishing, as we could wish to see them, must be growing in spite of the excise duty on cotton; for it is stated that the amount produced by this excise rose from 6 lakhs in 1895-6 to 18 lakhs in 1902-3, while in the same period, the yield of the duty on imported cotton fell from 116 lakhs to 95 lakhs.

There is some doubt as to the success of the Swadeshi boycott, for though, after its commencement, the amount of imports began to show a decrease in some items, this result may have been due to depression and consequent

diminution of purchasing power as much as to abstention from conviction, and it is noticeable that the consumption of imported cigarettes, which would be specially affected by the habits of the class, who form the bulk of the Swadeshis, showed no reduction.

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31. MR. DAVID GOSTLING.*

During all my life in India, I have been engaged in constructional work as an architect. When I arrived forty years ago in 1865, in India, the plans of Watson's Esplanade Hotel, Bombay, were being prepared in London by a celebrated English civil engineer, a designer of railway bridges of large span, who subsequently made a name for himself as a specialist, in the designs of railway station roofs of large span. The whole of this hotel, ashlar stone plinth, cast iron pillars, wrought iron beams, cast iron staircases and railings, also the fire brick walls were made in England. The only indigenous materials were the foundations, the teak floors and the internal plaster of the walls. The doors and windows were also made in England of pine wood, most unsuitable material for the hot, dry and damp climate of Bombay.

This experiment, as a whole, was never repeated; but for many years, cast iron pillars and wrought iron beams continued to be shipped from Europe. But when the cotton mill industry was resuscitated in Bombay, it was found that the local iron factories, when put on their mettle, turned out equally good cast iron columns, as

* Re-print from the *Indian Review*.

those from England and at as cheap a price, while the saving of time and the certainty of good local supervision turned the scale easily in favour of locally made pillars. Our local firms have screw-cutting lathes, planing and drilling machines of the largest size, while one firm has a whole plant of boiler-making machinery including bending machines, machines for drilling to gauge, and for plate welding. This firm turns out Lancashire-type double-flued boilers of the largest size, equal to the best English work, all tested under hydraulic pressure.

Again in order to meet the requirements of the cotton mill industry, there are many small repairing and fitting shops, each containing one or two screw-cutting lathes, drilling machines, horizontal and radial planing machines. These are driven by overhead shafting. The power is mostly actuated by cooly labor, but an increasing number of these shops now use oil engines.

Steel rolling mills have not hitherto been worked in India on a commercial scale, but the Bombay firm of Tata & Sons are now starting a company to roll on the Calcutta side steel railway-rails, H beams and joists, Ts and Ls.

I was delighted many years ago, when President of the Poona Industrial Conference, to be shown round a local Factory for the making of brass cups, (Marathi pyala), *Anglice*, of finger-glass shape. Each separate size had to pass though four sets of dies, in four separate presses, the fifth and final machine, being a trimmer and edge-cutter. I purchased a set of these for finger-glasses. They have been in continual use in my house

ever since. They are made of a special quality of elastic, soft-tending, golden-colored metal, which if cleaned once a fortnight with tamarind juice retains its color permanently. The cups last practically for ever as they never break. This industry should be started in every large town in India.

I have often wondered what becomes of the large number of private carriage axles and brass hubs. When my carriage-wheels rattle beyond endurance, a new set of one axle and two hubs cost me Rs. 80, which includes my coach-builder's profit. He only allows me Rs. 5 for the old set net 75, out of which, I judge, he also makes some profit. But the disparity between the prices of new and old is very great: for if the old hubs are re-bored, the screw-threads returned and fitted to a new axle, the set is as good as new; while if the old axle is returned and fitted to new hubs, the set is also as good as new. But the work must be done with extreme accuracy, which can only be secured with a special machine made in Europe, which means capital expenditure, possible failure and loss. Hence good reason why the business has not been attempted up to now.

My firm have built many cotton-spinning and weaving mills in Bombay and the mofussil. I have much money invested in cotton mills, and am a director in several mills. But I have always regretted the failure of the hand-weaving industry, consequent upon the starting of power-loom machinery. I have the greatest admiration for the self-sacrificing labors of Mr. Chatterton, of the Madras School of Arts, in endeavouring to improve the hand-loom, But

I fear, he will fail for the reason that the hand-loom must be too small in its out-turn to compete with the machine-loom. The hand-weaver must make goods of specially figured designs, which the machine-weaver cannot imitate. For instance, a firm I know have an agency in a district in India, whose name I will not indicate. They advance money to the weavers on the security of the labour put into the unfinished goods, which are figured half-silk, half-cotton, the silk only showing on the outside.

But I would go further than this. Mr. Chatterton for instance, and other School of Arts men, especially of the Jaipur style, should make designs in colored or figured cottons, redesigned from the ancient Indian patterns, and fit these to machine-looms. The weavers always work in a house by themselves. They hire a whole house. Let this be fitted up with overhead shafting, in a ground floor shed in a country place near the town. The machines must be English, but let the cards be figured with Indian designs. The shafting should be run by an oil engine, and each weaver look after two looms, as soon as he becomes a practised hand. Possibly, he might run four machines if the design is simple in character. But figured borderings, with or without silk, should be a speciality.

The same thing was done in England for many years by the late William Morris, the Socialist and Art Worker. His men, I think, worked entirely with hand-looms. He with £100,000 at command was able to accomplish many things. He kept up his weaving shop as a school to teach the forgotten craft of hand-loom weaving to all England. Since his death, the work has

been continued by "the Arts and Crafts Guild" of which Walter Crane, the Artist-Painter is the moving spirit. They recently held their annual meeting jointly in the same rooms, at the same time, as the Theosophical Convention in London, at which many specimens of their work were on exhibition. The report of their exhibition meeting is published in a recent number of the *Theosophical Review*. The "Arts and Crafts" has no connection with the Theosophical Society further than the bond of sympathy; members of the one are also members of the other. There is a steady sale for their work owing to the individuality that William Morris, Walter Crane and other artists have put into the designs woven. Though Mr. Chatterton and other art-workers have been spending their time in improving the Indian hand-loom, it must be borne in mind that for the weaving of plain cloths, even with a narrow figured border, the Indian weaver can only make four annas per day. This is not a living wage; not less than eight annas per day should be kept in view; and this can only be accomplished, I think, by power-driven looms. I am not here referring to specialised work such as is being initiated by the Indian Schools of Art, and which will, at the utmost, touch a few thousand weavers. I wish to give remunerative employment to the millions of Indian weavers, and to drive the Indian weaving mills, the makers of coarse plain cotton cloths, to find their legitimate market in cold frozen China. But after all, I am rather beside the mark in this argument. I am aware that but little of the cloth woven by Indian mills is used in India. This is too coarse for Indian wear and already goes to China. What I want is to

encourage Indian weavers profitably to weave Indian cloths of fine texture, in competition with the fine cloths, which now come from England. Indian weavers cannot compete with English plain goods, but only with English cloths of figured designs.

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32. RAJAH PRITHWIPAL SINGH.

The expression "Swadeshi" as it stands, simply means "pertaining to one's native land." Its wider signification leads us to myriads of different channels, but in this article, I shall confine my meaning of Swadeshi simply to the *economic problems of industrial development pertaining to our country.*

To begin with the subject; the birth of Swadeshi in the country is not of recent date; in fact, it had dawned on the minds of our countrymen long, long ago. Our recognised authorities on Indian economics, like the late lamented Mr. Ranade, have been pondering over the difficult problem of the poverty of their country as contrasted with the growing prosperity of the West, and have come to the conclusion that whilst the West strove on, India, forgetting her ancient commercial ideals fell low, and the foreign nations instantly stepped in on its ruins. Till recently, the sentiment of Swadeshi had been dragging on only a very feeble existence, when the unfortunate partition of Bengal quite unexpectedly infused fresh vigour into it, and thus set it going once again with revivified energy, with the result that now every nook and corner of

* From "*East and West.*" June 1907.

India is resounding with the din of Swadeshi. This revival of Swadeshi in the land is by no means a passing current of patriotic excitement. Nay, it has appeared in a healthier form to stay in the land, and ere long will prove itself to be one of the most powerful levers for the economic uplifting of the mother-land. It is truly synonymous with Nationalism.

Realising our present condition, it cannot be denied that the solution of the industrial problem of our country is one of the routes leading to the goal of its salvation. The economic poverty of the country is unquestionable, and the fact that India is an agricultural country is also well known to all. But our land problems, as they stand at this juncture, forebode a most dismal aspect—if we have to depend only on our prospects of tillage; for in spite of our repeated prayers the question for an All-India Permanent Settlement has not yet found room on the anvil of the Government. In addition to the fluctuating Government demand in land revenue, the cultivable area of land in several places is not capable of expansion, and thus the consumption exceeds the producing capacity of the soil. Then, again, the unfortunate famines, that now occur at such frequent intervals, considerably intensify the distress of the people. It is, therefore, essential that we should engage ourselves in right earnest in several other different pursuits, if we really want to improve the material condition of our country, that is now passing through a financial crisis. Looking at things more closely, we at once find that whilst there are men overcrowding the Government and private service as well as other profession such as medicine, law, etc., the field of our commercial

development lies almost untouched ; but if we only earnestly persevere, it would no doubt open to us a vista of fine prospects to ensure our future prosperity. Just now, our industrial prospects are very depressing; or we have not only to keep pace with the progress of the modern scientific world by applying ourselves to the improved principles of commerce and industry; but we have also to revive our ancient arts and industries, which, owing to our lack of proper attention, are unluckily fast disappearing. We have, therefore, a double work to perform at the same time, and consequently, our course is by no means smooth and we have to move very cautiously to achieve our aim. We should manfully face the overwhelming difficulties, that fall in our way and should not be confounded by them. Patriotic, and not passionate impulse should guide us. Ever since the Partition of Bengal, which gave new life to Swadeshism, we have very often been carried away by an emotional impulse that gave a new aspect to the Swadeshi movement by coupling it with what is known as the boycott movement.. This negative phase of Swadeshi fundamentally aims at eschewing goods of foreign manufacture. For many reasons, in my opinion, the idea of boycott—unless most extraordinary circumstances hereafter require—should be kept quite distinct from Swadeshi.

Regarding things calmly, we shall find that the day we begin to turn out equally good things, and of even the same value as, if not a little cheaper than, imported articles from foreign countries, we shall be in a position to monopolise our home market, and then the import of foreign goods will naturally be much less. That being so

why should we cry up the hateful boycott at the cost of Swadeshi? Similarly, the day we are able to revive and develop our ancient arts and industries, we will be in a position not only to better our own economic condition, but will be able to enrich the world's industrial field by the export of our own manufactures, that are not yet known to others. Swadeshi is, therefore, in itself boycott though without the odious expression linked to it. We should earnestly endeavour to propagate and realise the ideal of Swadeshi "within the limits of the Indian Empire," as so ably put by the Honourable Mr. G. K. Gokhale. Verily, it behoves every true sympathiser of India in general and every patriotic Indian in particular to nourish and foster the grand ideal of Swadeshi, even if a little sacrifice has to be made for it. Now the *modus operandi* for the attainment of this ideal has to be chalked out. To ensure success, genuine and constitutional efforts on our part, firm co-operation, and last but not least, the support and sympathy of the Government, are absolutely essential.

The Government might have felt shy of the movement at its dramatic inception, but now the signs of the times have changed considerably and we have ample reasons to rely on the Government for help and sympathy. Indeed our grateful thanks are due to His Excellency the Earl of Minto, for his repeated expressions of cordial sympathy towards the Swadeshi movement. His able Lieutenant, Sir John Prescott Hewett, the new ruler of the United Provinces, has also happily changed the tide, by following the benevolent policy of his amiable predecessor. Sir Antony MacDonnel, who will remain

enthroned in our hearts for contributing towards the future prosperity of our Provinces during his tenure of office.

Recently, the deputation of Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, one of the rising Indian Civilians, to survey and report on the Indian industries in the United Provinces and convening of a conference to discuss the prospects of technical education, that will very shortly assemble at Naini Tal, clearly show the eagerness of Sir John to support the real Swadeshi. Let us sincerely hope that the rulers of the other Provinces will take a hint from our L. G. and begin to work on the same lines. This sympathetic attitude of the Government has given a most powerful impetus to our cause, for now we read in the papers about the organisation of largely attended and influential Swadeshi meetings in Benares under the auspices of the Collector. Again, I find the public of my little district town, Bara-Banki, co-operating with their Deputy Commissioner in starting a weaving school in the town. All this is of course very encouraging, and we feel very grateful to the Gevernment for the same; but I must, at the same time, frankly own that the Government has yet to do much to strengthen Swadeshi for its own as well as for the universal benefit of the Indian community. Nay, it is the sacred duty of the Government to render us all possible assistance in the realisation of our ideal of true Swadeshi; for, the prosperity of every Government depends on the prosperity of its own people. The dreadful havoc made by plague, shows quite clearly how little of the comforts of life the poorer population enjoy, and Sister Nivedita rightly and judiciously remarks that sufficient food is the

best medicine and that the truest hygiene lies in being well nourished. Indeed, without sufficient State aid, no tangible result will follow. Danish agriculture which continues to make enormous progress, owes all its progress to the sympathetic guidance of the State. The Danish husbandman is not as intelligent and industrious as the Indian peasant, and if Denmark has risen so high, surely India can easily reach that height of commercial progress that has been attained by Denmark.

India, teeming with its millions of toiling humanity, can quite easily occupy a prominent position in the rank of the world's industrial countries, if only her Government would facilitate the adoption of the methods of scientific commerce in the country. Surely, the Britisher's boast should be that no individual willing to apply himself to work has to starve in the British dominions, and not that the sun never sets in those dominions. The establishment of more technical institutes, agricultural farms, the award of more liberal scholarships to enable bright Indian students to go and study the improved methods of commerce and agriculture etc. in foreign countries, by the Government, will be most helpful to us at this juncture. The Government ought to bear in mind the saying, "When a man teacheth his son no trade, it is as if he taught him highway robbery." This is of course quite true. In European countries, the Government has to deal with men, who will not justify their living as honest men by going to work. Here in India, where so many people are not only idling away their time, but are committing crimes almost every day to keep body and soul together, they could be turned into honest citizens with advantage

both to the Government and the country by being given chances to earn their livelihood by honest labour.

So much for the Government; but we should not overlook the fact that the main responsibility lies on us.

We know that most of our exports consist of raw products, and it is our duty to do our level best to utilise them with a view to cope with the demand of the home market, and thus check the flow of so many articles of daily consumption, which are nothing but our own raw materials, sent out to be manufactured into finished articles before being again imported into the country. Is it not a pity that we should so unnecessarily depend on foreign countries for our most ordinary supplies, such as sugar and hardware, which we can, and do still easily manufacture in our own homes? This shows our own apathy and weakness, for there is no earthly reason why we should not succeed in utilizing the vast resources of our country by adopting fair means. Our patriotism should really do what might be done by the State in other countries, by giving a protective preference to the goods of indigenous manufacture, that have to compete with the goods of foreign manufacture. To use the wise words of Mr. Glyn Barlow, "Patriotism must be in the business man's heart and not on his show-cards. His industry must stand on its own merits." Quite true, but at the outset, our goods cannot be as good and as cheap as imported articles from foreign countries, and so, we will not be doing too much if we were to undergo a little sacrifice only to enable our "industries to stand on their own merits." We must also

forego our fancy for foreign goods and should cease despising our own, simply because they are country made. Why should distance lend enchantment to the imported articles, when the indigenous ones prove to be fairly if not equally good?

All the industrial problems require a fund of common sense, patience and perseverance before the floating concern can be expected to become self-supporting and paying. We should, therefore, be prepared to suffer some temporary loss at the outset and should not be distressed by it. To make a good start, our first attempt should be to have a hold on our home market and then the sale of the surplus stores to others. We should also divert our attention to the development of our existing industries, that require nourishment before venturing to start fresh ones on their heels. Further, we should form societies to lend money without or with only a very nominal interest, invest money for the award of liberal scholarships, to enable our intelligent men to go to foreign countries to draw the industrial inspiration from them, and on their return to India, we should not be carried away by any caste scruples. We should wish them a hearty "bon voyage" and give them a most warm reception, as soon as they return to India from foreign lands. This is not all: we should invest large capital to start mills and factories under the guidance of our trained men; for unless we adopt means to utilise the trained skill of our men on their return to the country, our prospects of Swadeshi cannot improve, and we shall remain exactly where we were.

In ancient times, when the Indian caste system was formed, its formation was based on a most rational principle. The class of people that were devoted to the contemplation and realisation of Brahm were termed Brahmin, and on account of their very high spiritual development, were respected by all. Next came the class of people, who were full of chivalrous spirit and always bravely defended the helpless and the poor, by their martial attainments; these were called Kshatriyas. Then came those, who supported the country by their commercial enterprise and they were named Vaishyas. Lastly, the labouring class that ministered to the wants of the first three by serving them, and were called Sudras.

This was the principle on which the Hindu caste system was based to direct the energies of these different sets of people in their allotted spheres, which maintained the equilibrium so successfully for many generations. The youngsters of each class followed the occupation of their forefathers, and thus kept the country prosperous by keeping alive the broad principle of the caste system. All this is evident from the bright record of commercial, educational, martial, spiritual and social development, that our forefathers have left behind them for the guidance of posterity. As all luck would have it, latterly we have lost sight of these ideals and hence, our downfall and present degradation. Even now, the four castes continue to exist, but only in name and not in the true spirit.

We have now deteriorated to such an extent that we not only do not care to cultivate and develop our

allotted occupations, but resort to the wholesome aspirations of a Vaishya's taking up the Kshatriya's place, the latter taking up the Brahman's place and so on, and strangle the ambitions of a Vaishya, a *bonafide* business-man, to take to some other more fitting trade, such as leather work, etc., which may suit him better under the circumstances, by giving up his own hereditary occupation. In case he does this, we not only run him down in a good many different ways, but sometimes we go to the extent of even putting him out of caste. This is not the way of encouraging Swadeshi. We should really respect such of our enterprising men rather than condemn them and put obstacles in their way of commercial progress. Now the time has come when our aspiration should not be to distinguish ourselves as Brahmins, Kshatriyas, etc., but as individuals in whom the ideal of the four castes stand blended into one.

We should also try to teach new lessons in commerce and manufacture to our old-fashioned conservative people, who not knowing the blessings of the scientific improvements, do not feel inclined to adopt the recent methods in their work. Recently, the Indian Industrial Conference has rendered a signal service by publishing a catalogue of Swadeshi goods, with the address of firms that deal in them. Before the publication of this catalogue, which has been brought out by the joint efforts of Rao Bahadur R. N. Madholkar, and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, nobody knew, even if he wished to do so, anything about our Swadeshi stores. Such a catalogue should surely be published annually as proposed by the Indian

Industrial Conference to keep us in close touch with our indigenous stores.

In conclusion, I repeat the significant words of Mr. Glyn Barlow, which ought to inspire with zeal every true son of the motherland. "If the reader is a son of India," says Mr. Barlow "is he going to do anything for the country of his birth? He will best do, if he will initiate or develop some industry, but if he cannot do this directly himself, he will probably be able to be a large or a small shareholder in the financial development of some promising industry, organised by others. There is no call upon him to give any money away, no call to spend a pice; but he might directly invest some of his capital in some concern, that premises to bring him in a good dividend and at the same time to add to his country's wealth. India has been so great in the past that it would be a pity that she should not be so great in the future too. But the iron age, the industrial age, is upon her, now; and her children should learn to move with the times and to win a share in India's greatness, whilst they help him to make India great."

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33. RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDACHARLU C. I. E.*

Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters,—The proposition I have to speak to, runs thus:—"This Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success, by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the

* Speech delivered at the Calcutta Congress.

growth of indigenous industries and to stimulate the production of indigenous articles, by giving them preference, wherever practicable, over imported commodities, even at a sacrifice."

I shall not endeavour to propound any learned or erudite definition of what is Swadeshism, as I shall shortly call it. I shall tell you what it is, in plain English as I understand it. It is or rather its ultimate aim is that the wealth of the raw material, with which this country—this continent, if I may so call our country—abounds, should be utilised to the utmost, by indigenous silk, by indigenous labour and by indigenous capital, or capital which could be so controlled that the bulk of its profits might be made to ensure for the benefit of the people of this land. If the needed skill is not ready to hand, steps should, of course, be taken to get it acquired from abroad. But every effort should be put forth to find it in occupation, when acquired, and it should not be left to run to waste or be overlooked. For this purpose, as my proposition recommends, there should be a fillip, given to the growth of indigenous industries. Now ladies and gentlemen, it is too often the case that, when we think of industries, we form ideas of founding or organising them on a gigantic or ambitious scale; and we dismiss them in despair from our minds, when conditions are not favorable to them. I regard such a course as a great mistake. My notion is that a large number of smaller ones would be quite as good as big ones. They should be set on foot in as many centres as circumstances would favour—the larger in number, the better. Now, an important and potent auxiliary in this line is to stimulate a perference

to locally-made articles. This, the proposition insists upon every one properly. It must be preached all over the country, quite as earnestly and quite as persistently, as if it were a gospel from Heaven above. We have been too long inert. We have had an awakening—a rude awakening too. What we have lost in time, let us make up by energy and steadfastness. So much as this is indispensable to widen the scope and afford facilities for goods locally manufactured. In this connection; one thing must be remembered. It is the degree in which preference is open to us. It is in this view that the words "as far as practicable" are inserted into the proposition. Too much stress cannot be laid on these words. Without locally manufactured articles to compete with non-indigenous goods, some of us are accustomed to, we shall be in a dire predicament. Such of us, for instance, as are used to the tweed and the broad cloth would probably have no alternative but to go in for gunny bags; I take it that few would make *that* choice or force it on any one. It is well that with an eye to the practical side of the question, we have put in the words of safeguard, I have referred to. But I feel we shall not have long to wait, for we have now and have had for months an enthusiastic devotion in this direction. It may subside somewhat. It is bound to. With all the subsidence which must follow, it is bound to last and bids fair to last, as a powerful and unremitting factor. Here I cannot but express my satisfaction that our youths have caught up the spirit of that enthusiasm and that preference, and have begun to take devotedly to locally made articles: for they represent the coming genera-

tion and it is they, who would otherwise be the more ready or most likely victims of the error to which many of my generation, including myself, have to plead guilty. To my mind, therefore, it is a promising augury and a healthy sign that our young men have resolved to outlive our example and to render greater service to our countrymen than ourselves in an industrial sense,' *i. e.*, in augmenting the use and thereby increasing the supply of indigenous products, in all possible directions. We have indeed had some errors and indiscretions, in their pushing this forward. But they are inevitable in the early stages and in the exuberance of fervour. They are bound to disappear sooner or later—sooner, I think than later. Now, I shall detain you further only for a minute or two. It is to make a remark or two on the word "sacrifice" in the proposition before you. We cannot be blind to the fact that the great mass of the poor classes cannot be expected to buy the locally made articles, if dearer. They cannot, in their straitened circumstances and in their limited education, rise to that height of patriotism. It is even unfair for us to expect them to do so. In this view, it would even seem as though we were somewhat unpractical in the call we are making on the bulk of our countrymen. What appears to me as a solution of this difficulty is that our richer and better-to-do classes must come to the front and organise help in a self-sacrificing spirit *on their part* somewhat as follows;—They must either offer subsidies or indemnify manufacturers against loss by bounties, which certain European Governments do, but which our Government can never be got to do, *or* they must buy at the seller's price and re-sell to the

poor at a price, which might favourably compare with that of non-indigenous commodities. This latter form of vicarious sacrifice is no strange or novel practice. By way of illustration, let me say that it is precisely what certain rich men and generous merchants did in a certain period of famine, some few years ago, in Madras. I wish it adopted as a settled system, till our nascent industries so far develop as to stand on their own legs and hold their own in what would *then* be an equal competition with outsiders.

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34. SIR E. C. BUCK, K. C. S. I.*

I

When recently in Calcutta, I took the opportunity to make a visit to many of the so-called Swadeshi shops, it had been in past years part of my official duty to encourage country industries and I was desirous to ascertain how far the Swadeshi movement had promoted or was likely to promote them in Bengal. I was accompanied in my tour round the city, by a Bengali official, formerly associated with the Department of Economic Products, who on his retirement, had edited a Swadeshi magazine in Calcutta with the co-operation of other educated Bengalis, many of whom had formed associations for the encouragement of native industries. Some results followed their efforts, but it cannot be said that they were commensurate with their zeal.

* Four letters contributed to the "*Englishman*," Calcutta.

I was curious to learn what in the opinion of my Bengali friends were the reasons, which had prevented the active support of the Swadeshi movement, until it became a political question. One of the first reasons given was that the Permanent Settlement had in itself made the people so prosperous that they had felt no stimulus to improve their condition. Other explanations similar in character were offered—the fertility of the Provinces; no interruptions from drought; rise in prices; a relaxing climate; all had tended to comfortable laziness. And no doubt, there was some reason in what these gentlemen said. But they omitted one argument, which when put to them, they accepted, *viz.*, that the education, which we had given them was one which has led to professions of culture rather than to professions involving industrial development—"*Nostraculpa* !"

Whatever the causes, it remains the fact that there is little evidence in Calcutta of practical efforts by the Bengali in the past. When Lord Curzon, soon after taking office, had to deal with a petition deprecating reduction in the number of Municipal commissioners, he remarked that he had in his tour of inspection round Calcutta, viewed with admiration the numerous factories and other indications of industrial enterprise, but had on enquiry found that in no case had these been promoted by indigenous effort. And partly on this ground, the petition was rejected. There was, however, in Calcutta, even then, one successful enterprize, which had been the sole work of a native resident. This gentleman seeing the opportunity for exploiting in the Burma market, fabrics manufactured from the cheap silks, of both the wild and

country-bred worms of Assam and Bengal, went to Lyons, learned what he could, brought back a French expert, kept him for two years to instruct his workmen, and thereafter his factory has run on its own wheels. It is well-worth a visit. But in this case, the man of enterprize came from the East coast of India, where there is no Permanent Settlement.

To return to our shops. In answer to the enquiries as to progress being made under the stimulus of the new Swadeshi movement, the general reply was in effect that "The spirit is willing, but the supply is weak. But, Sir," they said, "wait ten years, and you shall see! Bengal has now walked up!" However, on inspection of the contents of the shops, it was found that so far as there was a 'supply,' full use was being made of it. And it was curious to discover that the major portion of the supply came in one form or another, *e.g.*, cotton goods, woollen goods, boots and shoes, brushes and sugar, from Cawnpore. The products of other mills, west and north, were in evidence; but Cawnpore bore the palm. Bengal itself supplied a few minor articles of home make, but of insignificant importance.

It becomes, therefore, interesting to learn what have been the causes which have led to the successful establishment of indigenous manufactures at Cawnpore. I have always believed and still believe that no important, certainly no rapid, development of new industries can be expected without some form of protection or financial assistance and the history of Cawnpore manufacture seems to support this view. Perhaps no one is better

acquainted with its history than myself. I was officially connected with Cawnpore in one way or another, from 1864 to 1880 and have paid many visits to it since, official and otherwise. I was in charge of the city when the boom in cotton, due to the American war, poured thousands of bales into a town, which was unprepared for their reception. Roads were opened up in haste ; elephants were brought from cantonments to raze row after row of mud huts to the ground in order to make room for market places ; new shops and godowns were rapidly built ; and the first cotton mill rose on the banks of the Ganges. All this energetic action was due to the temporary "Protection," accorded by the American war which, for the time being, gave to India a quasi monopoly in the cotton market. But that was not enough ; the war ceased, prices fell, the new mills had to struggle against inexperience, against cost of importing machinery against cost of fuel, against the difficulty of training hands and against the many minor obstacles which hamper a new enterprize.

The Government came forward to the rescue with army contracts for tents, for police uniforms, regimental clothing etc., and afterwards when woollen and leather mills followed, for blankets, for harness and boots, and finally for sugar. Latter on Sir Evelyn Baring, as Finance Minister instigated the removal of the obnoxious rules which required all Government orders to be sent home, and introduced the Swadeshi policy that all that can be made in the country at reasonable cost, should be brought in the country, a policy which has now been confirmed by Lord Minto in a recent Revolution.

Meanwhile, a far more important, though less noticed, protection was being afforded by a cause which was acting throughout the Indian Empire for the encouragement of every industrial enterprize, that required capital. This was the gradual fall in the rupee. Each fall was in effect, equivalent to a protective duty. The truth of this proposition can, perhaps, be most readily appreciated by illustration. Thus it may be roughly assumed that in the 30 years from 1864 to 1894, the value of the rupee gradually fell from 2s. to 1s, or say, by one-sixth in each decade. But the rise in prices and in wages, which was bound sooner or later to follow, only succeeded at long intervals, longer in the case of wages than in that of prices. Assume again that a mill employing 2,000 hands disbursed at the commencement of the three decades, Rs. 5 per month for each workman, or Rs. 1,20,000 a year for the whole staff, and that it took 10 years before any rise in wages took place; in the meantime the value of Rs. 1,20,000 would have fallen by one-sixth, from £1,20,000 to £100,000, which would give a mean gain of £1,000 a year or £10,000 for the 10 years. A similar gain would accrue in the next two decades—this affording a bonus of £30,000 in the thirty years. To none was the advantage of the falling rupee better known than to the tea planters of Bengal and Assam, whence indeed came the only strong opposition to the measures proposed for securing the stability of the rupee.

It may be said that independently of these three phases of protection, *viz.*, the American war, Government contracts, and the fall of the rupee, the Cawnpore factories

have had the advantages of country raised products and of apparently cheaper labour, against which must still be set the cost of importing machinery and of highly paid European supervision. But the supposed advantage of cheap labour has been discounted by the recent revelation at Benares of Mr. Johnson, a Cawnpore mill owner, who, with other experts argues, on what seem to be valid grounds that as mill-hands, native workmen cost as much as if not more than English workmen. The only advantages now left to the mills are, therefore, locally grown raw produce and Government contracts, which latter are, however, less freely given than heretofore. In the case of one mill, for example, I find that Government order have fallen 80 to something like 10 per cent. total out turn.

II.

In a previous communication, it was shown that manufacturing enterprise at Cawnpore has owed most of its success to various phases of protection, *viz.*, the American war; the fall in the value of the rupee; countervailing duties; and Government contracts. The inference seems to be logically justified that it will be difficult for indigenous enterprise elsewhere to succeed, in any new directions in which initial obstacles as well as competition from abroad have to be met, without some form of protection. It will be necessary, therefore, to consider what form of protection is, in existing circumstances, possible, and in doing so it may be as well to distinguish between industries already established, such as those at Cawnpore and industries, which are either new or require such improvement, as will place them on a new footing.

The Swadeshi movement, so far as it restricts the purchase of other than home-made articles, is one of the nature of protection. But the effect of it is confined and must be for some time to come, confined to industries already established. For it is clear that a mere demand for home manufactures is not sufficient to induce capitalists to run the risk of new ventures, which may not produce articles at a price, which can compete with that of imported goods. I have made enquiries in Cawnpore as to the effect of the Swadeshi demand, on the sale of established mill product and find that it has, on the whole, been appreciable. One important mill has for instance doubled the out-turn of goods for country consumption; another has found entry into new markets in districts of Bengal, where it has for the first time successfully competed with manufactures from Belgium and Germany. And as I was told, experience has shown that, where once the native buyer has discovered the superiority of the mill fabrics over shoddy imports from abroad, he does, as a rule, boycott or no boycott, remain a customer for the home article, notwithstanding its higher price. It may be conceded, therefore, that the new movement has given an appreciable stimulus to manufactures already established. And it may be noted that so far as these products have replaced imports, the latter have been mainly imports from the Continent and not from England.

To return once more to Calcutta. I was taken by my guides to the Swadeshi schools, where the use of improved hand-looms is being taught, as well as to shops, where I was shown both the products of hand-looms and the imported goods of inferior quality, with which they

would have to compete. It was curious to find that here again the latter came almost entirely from the Continent, Belgium and Germany taking the leading place. Thus the enquiries, which I made, led to the presumption that Manchester had little to fear from the hand-loom, however successful it might be; that protection would be required, at any rate in the case of lower grade cotton fabrics, not against England, but only against the Continent; and that Manchester as well as Bengal would reap advantage by direct protection against continental fabrics. But all this means "Fiscal Policy" now floating "in nubibus," whence no man can prophesy whether or when the stimulating showers of imperial protection will descend.

In these circumstances, it becomes necessary to examine the question in what guise protection or positive encouragement can be given by the State, with the aid of native capital, to the promotion of new industries, which it has been assumed, cannot be easily established without some form of direct or indirect assistance. In considering it, I am at one with the views expressed in his eloquent and able advocacy of legitimate "Swadeshi" by Mr. Gokhale in the course of his Benares address. Three things, he said, are wanted, "capital, enterprise, and skill." But, it may be added, that capital is useless without enterprise and enterprise useless without skill. The first object is, therefore, to produce skill. That means technical education, which again involves a system of practical education in the primary schools. In a national scheme for the promotion of constructing

indigenous industries, it is necessary, therefore, to lay the foundation in the primary school.

It became my duty when in the service of the Government of India to deal with this very question. The Department of Agriculture, of which I had the honour to have charge for many years, was created with the main object of carrying into effect the recommendations of the Famine Commissioners of 1878, who urged, nothing more strongly than the promotion or education in agricultural science as well as of technical instruction of every kind. Money, however, did not flow freely enough in the years that followed, for the establishment on any large scale of technical schools and colleges, and perhaps it was as well that it was so. For an examination of the history of technical education on the Continent and at home led to the conclusion that until the system of primary education, hitherto, too literary in character, could be reformed and made more practical, it would be unwise to launch technical schools broadcast. Thus in England the Country Councils received liberal grants under the Technical Education Act, for the promotion of technical education; they vied with each other in founding institutions and colleges; procured the best professors and teachers, that the country could provide; introduced the most advanced systems of instruction; spared no pains to equip their buildings with costly laboratories and elaborate appliances; and then in a brief period, county after county reported that their efforts had failed, because forsooth the students, who arrived from the schools, could not assimilate the instruction offered them in the technical institutions.

The policy committed to the department was, therefore, confined initially to the reform of primary education, and I was personally deputed by the Government of India three times, once after retiring from the service, by Lord Curzon, to confer with the authorities in every Province for the consideration of reforms which would, to use the words of the Irish Education Commission of 1896, "train the faculties in the primary schools by more practical methods." The policy was everywhere accepted, and in Bengal the late Sir John Woodburn inaugurated the first day of the new century by the promulgation of an educational scheme for primary education, drawn up by Sir Alexander Pedler with the aid of a strong Committee based on this principle.

It seems desirable to draw attention to this chapter of administrative history, in view of the fact that Mr. Gokhale and others, who are urging the Government to promote the "extension of primary education" and to provide "facilities for industrial education," and seem to have overlooked the important action which has under the administration of our latest Viceroys been taken to "fit growing generations for the assimilation of technical instruction." It has been the absence of practical training in the primary schools far more than the Permanent Settlement, that has prevented the Bengali from acquiring the "skill" or showing the "enterprise" which Mr. Gokhale rightly urges to be two essential factors in the industrial scheme. When, therefore, the State is asked to "extend" primary education, it should be remembered that it is quality rather than quantity, that is required at the present stage of educational

development; and that the Government in reconstructing the system of instruction, has provided in the primary school the foundation, which is essential for industrial progress in the future.

III.

In my first article, I endeavoured to prove that some form of protection is necessary for the success of industrial enterprise in India. In my second, I indicated that the essential foundation for future industrial progress has been laid by the Government in the reform of primary education. I now propose to indicate what other measures the State has already taken for the furtherance of the main industry of the empire, viz., agriculture. For it may be presumed that the principles wihch have been adopted in the case of this chief industry, will, *mutatis mutandis*, be followed in that of industries, which at present occupy a smaller field.

The first attention of the State was given to agriculture rather than to other industries, not only on account of its overwhelming importance, but also because a direct responsibility to deal primarily with agricultural improvement and development was placed upon it by the Famine Commission of 1878. The first step advised and the first taken was the constitution of an Imperial Department of Agriculture. This was followed by the appointment of civilian directors in each province; the institution under their direction of a complete agricultural survey for the ascertainment of facts and statistics; the establishment and training of a staff for the maintenance of the survey up-to-date; the employment of experts, imperial

and provincial, to ascertain defects in agricultural methods and conditions, and to suggest improvements; the appointment of an imperial officer as Inspector-General, to co-ordinate and guide the executive operations of provincial departments; the establishment of experimental farms and institutions; of research, provincial and imperial; and finally the foundations of agricultural schools and colleges. These measures have occupied a quarter of a century. They may be divided into four sections—primary education, enquiry, improvement, and special education.' The main principle underlying the scheme is that at the same time that "enquiry" is proceeding for the ascertainment of possible improvements, the rising generations are being educated in such a fashion as to enable them eventually to adopt and make use of the improvement discovered.

Reverting now to the case of industries other than agricultural, it will be seen that the same policy is being pursued. Primary education has been reformed, enquiry has commenced, improvement and special education are to follow. It is doubtful, however, whether the actual steps which, independently of educational reform, the State has recently taken in the cause of industrial progress have been adequately appreciated, and I will endeavour to give a brief summary of them.

The first step was taken in the elaborate survey of the economic products of India, which was made under State direction by Sir George Watt. The 'Dictionary,' which embodies the results of the survey, occupied ten years of hard work, and the special Economic Department, which was created in 1886, is still employed in

maintaining the survey up-to-date. It may be confidently asserted that no more complete investigation has been made in any country in the world of its economic products, and no argument is required to prove that without such a foundation no satisfactory survey of industries which are based, almost without exception, in the products of the country, could be made.

A second step was taken in the appointment by Lord Curzon of a committee of selected officers to make an enquiry throughout India, as to the conditions and character of technical and industrial instruction, as now existing. In the Resolution which the Government of India issued in 1904, on their report, Local Governments were invited to commence what will practically become a survey of the industries in which indigenous products are utilized. They were asked to employ special experts for the instruction of artizans in each industry, one by one, and were requested to report in due course what industries were selected for first trial and what other measures were proposed. The same Resolution dealt generally with the question of industrial schools which it was admitted, must in the main depend upon Government and not upon private management and concluded with the remark that the solution of the problem (of industrial) must rest mainly with local Governments.

A third step has been the encouragement given by the State, in co-operation with philanthropists, to technical education of the higher class.

The Engineering Colleges, for instance, at Rurki, Sibpur and Madras have already produced an effective corps of

capable engineers and electricians, and in Bengal itself, schools and colleges designed for practical and technical education are under Sir Andrew Fraser's auspices, rising from the ground at Ranchi, where the students of the future will have at once a climate favourable for work and be removed from the temptations offered by Calcutta for instruction of a less practical character. Nor should mention be omitted of the scholarship offered by Government to selected students desirous of undergoing a technical or scientific training abroad.

The Victoria College at Bombay affords another example of the work done in this direction, but in this case by private capital.

A fourth step, which corresponds to the first step in the agricultural programme, is of primary importance. I allude to the constitution of a new Imperial Department upon which the responsibility of promoting industrial enterprise in every direction now rests. It is premature to suggest what developments will take place under this guidance, but it is a natural presumption that State policy will continue, as it has commenced, to run upon lines parallelled to those which have been followed in the case of agriculture; that the industrial survey for which so strong a foundation has been laid, will be completed, that provincial work will be co-ordinated under central guidance; that export will, as suggested in the 1904 Resolution, be employed for the discovery of defects and for the suggestion of improvements as well as for the instruction of artizans; and that primary, industrial and technical education will be gradually

welded together in a comprehensive and connected scheme.

To quote the words of the Resolution of 1904, it is impracticable now to build up rapidly a great fabric of technical education in India ; we are still in the stage of experiment.

My main object, in putting forward this brief exposition of State policy and action, are in the first place to show that the Government has not been idle, and in the second place, to suggest in what directions, State action can most usefully be supplemented by the co-operation of the community. I will ask permission to deal with the latter subject in my next communication.

IV.

In my last article, I gave a brief sketch of the broad scheme, which the State had already constructed for the furtherance of industrial progress. I now venture to suggest in what directions the co-operation of the community might be accorded.

Mr. Gokhale in calling on his countrymen to utilize in the interest of legitimate Swadeshi, the enormous capital which he has shown to be available in private hands, and which in Bengal has, he suggests, been partly the result of the Permanent Settlement, asks, in dealing with country industries, for the co-operation of Government. Might not the appeal be made the other way round? For the Government has, as we have seen, taken extensive action. In agriculture, the main industry of the country, almost unaided, except by Mr. Tata and a few other philanthropists ; in remaining industrial fields,

with but little assistance except from subscriptions for high class technical college. Otherwise the wealthy classes of India have not, as a whole, either joined hands with the State in the promotion of its wide and costly schemes, or, as yet, taken any independent action of importance. Should not therefore, the appeal for co-operation be made by the State to the community and not by the community to the State?

However, this may be, it is satisfactory to find that the people are now being exhorted to rouse themselves for the protection and development of indigenous industries, and to work, hand in hand, with the Government for this purpose. It may be noticed that Mr. Gokhale's appeal was incidentally made in connection with the hand-loom industry. Well, the Resolution of 1904 already quoted specially commended this industry to local Governments as the first to which attention should be given. It seems, therefore, more than probable that if the capitalists of India were, in each Province in which hand-loom industry prevails, to offer funds for its improvement they would find the Local Government ready, under the injunctions of the 1904 Resolution, to welcome their co-operation. It is hardly necessary to suggest for what purpose funds are required. Experts for the examination of existing looms and of their defects; the provision of improved looms; advances to weavers for their purchase at a low price; the further institution of schools, such as those started in Calcutta; the appointment of instructors; the employment of a central agency for the co-ordination of work done in each Province. In some of these directions, disjointed action has indeed

already been taken on the one hand by the community and by the State on the other. But as Mr. Gokhale infers the community should work, hand in hand, with the State.

The hand-loom is only an example of the great work that has to be done. There are a thousand and one indigenous industries, which require careful examination for the purpose of discovering defects and of working out improvements. In some cases, competent persons will have to be sent abroad to study the industry in Europe, Japan or America; in others, experts will have to be imported; in every case in which improvement is possible, instruction must be provided for the artizans. Here is a field large enough for the philanthrophists of India! The State itself cannot afford to do more than to take up in each province the investigation of industries one by one over a long course of years. But with funds at its disposal, it can provide at once a machinery, as extensive and competent as that which has been organized for the promotion of the agricultural industry and can without delay expand industrial survey inaugurated under the 1900 Resolution to many other industries and manufactures.

But it is not only the study and improvement of old industries that is needed. Of hardly less importance is the introduction of new industries. The aluminium manufactories established under Mr. Chatterton's guidance in Madras are a case in point. It is a question how far it would be possible or desirable for the community to lean on Government for similar aid in other cases; but it may

be assumed that if funds are provided by the community a staff of experts could be obtained, who would work out the various problems. This would mean the deputation abroad of qualified persons as well as the importation of experts, referred to in my first article. I am glad to be able to quote as an illustration of such action the importation of Japanese instructors by a philanthropic capitalist of Bengal, whose name I regret has escaped me, but the result of whose enterprise. I witnessed in my tour round Calcutta at a successful soap factory I may record, too, as an example of the advantage of studying indigenous products, the recent substitution of "cooly-head-baskets" from material, produced in Assam forests for those which had hitherto been imported in thousands from the Malay Peninsula and elsewhere.

A review of the position suggests the question whether the wealthy promoters of Swadeshi might not provide what could be termed an Institution of Industrial Research, say in each Presidency, in which experts, among whom could be included successful students from the technical colleges, should examine the further possibilities of utilizing the economic products of the country, and in which funds should be provided for deputing students abroad or for importing experts. In the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education, which recently despatched 44 students to foreign countries for technical training, we have a laudable example of effort in the direction which I advocate; but there ought to be an organized scheme of industrial research and experiment in which these trained scholars could find

useful employment on returning to their native land. The State, as I have indicated, has provided a basis for a scheme of this kind in the survey of economic products, of which indeed more practical advantage has been taken in America and Germany than in India itself, but which should hence forth form the main foundation for the development of new industries in this country.

It is needless to suggest in further detail how the wealthy community, to whom Mr. Gokhale has so eloquently appealed can, in co-operation with the State, give useful effect to the patriotic policy of Swadeshi.

It is sufficient for the present to have shown that, in the absence of other protection, the people of India stand in need both of strong financial support and of exceptionally intelligent guidance in their struggle against foreign competition; that the State itself has already prepared a deep-laid foundation for a scheme of industrial progress; and that the liberal aid of the capitalists of the country is essential for its rapid development. It remains, therefore, for the leaders of the people, in necessary association with the authorities, to work out in detail the plan of salvation.

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35. DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.*

It may be doubted if the Swadeshi movement has yet come into its kingdom. An outside observer, however

* Reprint from the *Indian Review*, January, 1907.

sympathetic, detects in it many signs of weakness. The present paper is intended as a criticism of one aspect of the Swadeshi movement, based on the writer's observations in India and Ceylon.

Briefly expressed, the object of the movement is to check the drain on Indian capital, involved in the purchase of imported goods by manufacturing the said goods locally; replacing the removal of money from Indian shores, by a circulation of money within the limits of India itself. So far, so good. Let us consider for a moment the nature of manufactured goods. From our Indian point of view, we may divide them in two ways:

(1) into (*a*) things which are worth having, and (*b*) those which are not worth having;

(2) into (*a*) things for the production or manufacture of which India is well adapted by natural resources or temperament, and (*b*) things which other countries are better able, for analogous reasons, to produce or manufacture.

It will be found that, to a great extent, the classes 1 (*a*) and 2(*a*), and 1(*b*), and 2(*b*), have a common application. A great many of the European luxuries, which our imitative habits have led us to adopt are quite unnecessary, sometimes positively injurious, and we shall certainly be much wiser to do without them altogether (a considerable saving to ourselves), than to make them locally (even worse than they are made in Europe.) There is a large class of goods, cheap and nasty, which are manufactured solely for the Eastern market, and which no one with any education or taste would use in England.

These are purchased eagerly by Indians, who desire to furnish in the European style; and that in such quantities that their drawing-rooms are more like shops than living-rooms. I heard the other day of an Indian Prince, who consulted a European friend as to the furniture in his palace. He said 'Look here, you are an old friend I want you to go through my palace and reject everything European, which is not worth having and which only excites the ridicule of Europeans.' The result was that over two lakhs' worth of rubbish was sold in Calcutta.

Probably ninety per cent. of European articles purchased by Indians are either ugly or useless or both. Even our most sacred temples are not always free from an invasion of tawdry crystal balls and gaudy European paints. Our household brass and bronze wares are replaced by cheap glass and enamelled pots. The rich offend as badly as the poor, indeed more so, as they can afford to buy a larger quantity of useless and ugly things. Now all of these things cost money; and is it not a *waste* of money? We certainly shall gain nothing by transferring the seat of their manufacture to India.

Take again European haberdashery, of which we import over 187 lakhs' value annually. What does this mean? Woollen caps and leather shoes for our infants; hats, ties and collars for our men; even corsets for some of our ladies; English curtains and carpets and what not; for our homes. All this is the result of aping others. what an enormous sum of money per annum might be saved in India, by returning to the simple ideas and

plain living of our forefathers! There is a Swadeshi, a higher Swadeshi, which should boycott certain goods, not because of their foreign origin but because of their intrinsic worthlessness.

Take another class of goods, nibs, writing paper, scientific instruments, clocks and watches, a good deal of machinery and of the things made by it. Some of these things have with great difficulty been made in India. But the quality of the locally manufactured article is often miserable. The mountain has produced a molehill. The Swadeshi movement, in fact, has been a godsend to some manufacturers, who have obtained a sale for anything, however badly made, if only cheap, and labelled Swadeshi. Now I say that it is no good having Swadeshi manufactures unless the home-made things are better, not worse, than the imported ones. But it is just in cases where this is possible, that the Swadeshi movement fails. For example, alizarine and aniline dyes to the value of 75 lakhs are annually imported. Yet there could scarcely be found a native of India, convinced of the importance of using Indian dyes in preference, though it has been urged upon them again and again by sympathetic Europeans.

Take even textiles, which are a speciality of the Swadeshi movement. What is happening here in Madras? The most vulgar Manchester prints are at this very time fast driving out locally made and artistic materials. At the Madras Exhibition of 1903, "side by side with very many good examples displayed in various textiles, there were a number of specimens of gaudy-coloured goods of week design, colour and quality, poor

imitations of art fabrics and European textiles. Why, then, do people stand with folded arms and look at a declining industry *in which there is money*, without any attempt, in a practical way, to revive the trade?......... Already a change for the worse is visible in the tastes of the common people, and one has only to go into any street or village near a large town, to see the glaring printed coloured cloths of Manchester or German production, freely worn by the populace. These are rapidly taking the place of the beautiful white and tinted cloths of hand-loom work, so lately in general use all over India, and so much of which was, until the middle of the nineteenth century, exported to various countries." [H. T. Harris].

Surely Swadeshi should endeavour to revive and continue what already exists, before entering upon wholesale attempts to compete with the West by introducing new ones. Moreover, we should wish not only to supply *ourselves* with textiles, but to recreate the export demand. It is the modernized Indians' degraded taste, which makes the last idea almost impossible of realization.

Take again musical instruments, imported annually to the value of 13 lakhs. There are European instruments, pianos, violins, harmoniums and gramophones (if that can be called a musical instrument which in reality can be only a scientific instrument or a child's toy). Of all these, the harmonium in particular is spreading far and wide, and ousting native music and native instruments. There are very few places in South India, where native instruments are made, and the industry is decaying fast. Just so with all other indigenous arts and industries; we

neglect what lies at our doors, to buy from abroad what we do not understand and cannot use to advantage. No wonder we are poor; but, what is worse, we are intellectually and æsthetically sterilising ourselves as well.

It is, then, the purely commercial feeling that inspires the Swadeshi movement, that to a great extent accounts for its weakness. We ought to be able to buy our country's wares, not out of a painful sense of duty (to the advantage of a few local manufactures who are shrewd enough to exploit our sentiment), but because we feel them to be more suited to our needs more, expressive of ourselves, better worth having. We want a Swadeshism of ideas, of music, of art, and the commercial Swadeshi is bound to follow.

I do not mean a *boycott* of foreign ideas; but I mean that Indians have yet to realise that they cannot adequately appreciate foreign ideas, foreign art, or foreign music, if they cannot appreciate their own. I suggest to Indians a study of 'Swadeshism' in other countries, such as Denmark and Ireland, where there is a more deeply rooted and more comprehensive national feeling. The Irish Swadeshist, for instance, is not merely a home-trader and a home-ruler, but the same sentiment has led him to a revival of the Irish language and literature, the value of which has become apparent not only to himself but to the world at large. Remember, we have a duty not only to ourselves, but to the world; that duty is to develop our talents, not to bury them.

Now consider another aspect of Swadeshism. Are we going to compete with the West by introducing a factory

system and a capitalist ownership of the means of production, corresponding to that prevailing in Europe? Space will not permit me to review the industrial history of Europe, but I may say it has been a long and, on the whole, a sad one, and the West is only now, and slowly, beginning to deliver itself from the worst evils of the *laissez-faire* and factory systems. The germs of regeneration are not absent in the West; the ideals of democracy and socialism [equality of opportunity] will sooner or later be attained; and a time will come [or the hopes of civilization are vain indeed] when there will be for all men, work worth doing, a life not over-hard or over-anxious, and such surroundings, as are fit for the life of human beings. Many of these ideals were already attained under the industrial systems prevailing in India. Each caste or trade community possessed an organization largely socialistic in character and embodying democratic and communistic ideals. The results of the capitalist system, wherein the possession of the means of production by a few, enables them to exploit the many, are so unfavourable in the West, that we shall do well to question very seriously whether it is wise for us to attempt to compete with the West on the same lines; especially as we are quite out of touch with the regenerative tendencies referred to in the West. If Indian industries are to continue to benefit the *people* of India, and not merely a few capitalists in India, they must be still the village and home industries of the past, aided of course, by the adoption of such improvements as appear really desirable. Remember that the West is just beginning to learn where to use and where to avoid machinery. It is, for example,

no gain to make cloths by machinery at half the old price, if they wear only half as long ; it is, indeed, a loss because the longer a thing is likely to be in use, the more willing we shall be to decorate it worthily, and *vice versa.* No doubt a great many common things must be made by machinery in future ; but not so universally as might be supposed ; and here I would suggest that in some of these cases (say nibs) we may very well leave other nations to do the hewing of wood and drawing of water for us, and concern ourselves with the revival, *both for home use and for export*, of what are really *our own* industries, now decaying everywhere for lack of intelligent encouragement. Once more, the blame for this is largely to be laid at the door of the well-to-do, or would-be well-to-do, who fill their homes not only with foreign wares, but with foreign wares not worth having. Not till the Indian people patronize Indian arts and industries from a real appreciation of them, and because they recognize them as better than the foreign, will the Swadeshi movement grow complete and comprehensive. If a time should ever come (and I confess it seems likely to be long in coming) when Indians recognize that "for the beautification of an Indian house or the furniture of an Indian home, there is no need to rush to European shops in Calcutta or Bombay," there may be a realisation of Swadeshism. But "so long as they prefer to fill their palaces with flaming Brussels carpets, Tottenham court-road furniture, cheap Italian mosaics, French eleographs, Austrian lustres, German tissues and cheap brocades . . . . there is not much hope." Accordingly, and with the fullest sympathy with Swadeshism and Nationalism in India, I yet venture to suggest

that equally important with the establishment of new foreign industries on Indian soil, are the patronage and revival of those on the verge of extinction, the purification of those which survive in degraded forms, and the avoidance of useless luxuries, whether home or foreign-made. Swadeshism must be inspired by a broad and many-sided national sentiment; where such a sentiment exists, industrial Swadeshi will be its natural outcome, without effort and without failure.

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36. MR. MUJBUR RAHMAN.*

For the last two years, there has been going on a good deal of agitation, in the press and on the platform, about the Swadeshi movement. One and all, literate and illiterate, have now come to know what this agitation is. The result it has achieved during this short period of time is not inconsiderable. Many poor people have found their means of livelihood; many beggars have given up their profession and taken to weaving. The number of the wretches who oppose the movement, which brings bread to the poor must be small indeed. A good many of our Hindu brethren seem to think that the Mahomedans, as a class, are opposed to the Swadeshi movement. Nothing could be farther from the truth. I myself am a Mahomedan. I know of Mahomedans, who long before the birth of the Swadeshi movement have been using coarse cloths turned out by the Bombay mills. Our Hindu brethren were then completely under the hypnotic charms of

* Translation of a Bengali Speech made at the 24 Parganas District Conference, held in July, 1907.

Bilati. Any Hindu friend, if then requested to use country-made cloths and things, would laugh the proposal down the wind and would say in derison:—'It seems you would be the deliverer of mother India.' The same Hindus now lay the charge of anti-Swadeshi at our door. Excepting only a handful of misguided men, there are none among the Mahomedans who are opposed to Swadeshi. Such men are not rare even among the Hindus. But it should be remembered that among Mahomedans, the illiterate preponderate. They are easily led. A few self-seeking men, with selfish purposes in view, have led the uneducated masses into error and that accounts for the presence of some anti-Swadeshites among the lower ranks of Mahomedans. It is not the fault of Mahomedans as a community. We have rather seen educated Hindus twitting Swadeshites. Proof is not wanting. However, a discussion of that matter is quite out of place here. My humble appeal to my Hindu brethren is that they should guard against giving a place in their minds to the ideal that "anti-Swadeshite" and "Mussalman" are synonymous. I regret to have to observe that such an idea has, in many places, worked incalculable mischief and you will easily understand how it has, if you will ponder over it a little. I refrain from introducing that subject here, as it would be unpleasant and unnecessary.

Be that as it may, there can be no two opinions that it is the duty of all Indians to make a common cause and to put forth their best, earnest and joint endeavours for the rehabilitation of the lost industries of the country. It is known to all how the British trader killed

our industries and, as a consequence, caused us to be crushed under the wheel of famine and starvation. In the eighteenth century, when British rule was not yet established in India on a solid basis and when some sort of anarchy was prevalent in the land, there were but four famines. But, unfortunately in the nineteenth century, with the spread and consolidation of British rule in India, the gaunt spectre of family has been stalking the land and daily claiming larger areas as its own. During the latter half of the nineteenth century—within 25 years—there have been no less than 18 visitations of famine and these visitations have claimed a hecatomb of 2 crores and 90 lakhs of people. Out of these, no less than 1 crore and 90 lakhs of Indians have died for want of bread alone. It is a common place belief that war is the principal agency for the spread of death and destruction and that its victims are always the largest. The late William Digby has shown that from 1793 to 1900 not more than 50 lakhs of people died in warfare throughout the whole world. But during that period 3 crores and 25 lakhs of people died of starvation in India alone. Some may wonder what possible connection British trade has with Indian famines. Drought, they say, is the one cause. I do not think so. This vast expanse of Hindustan never wants rainfall simultaneously in all places. Drought in one place is made up for adequate rainfall in others. Copious rainfall in a fourth part of the whole of Hindustan yields such a barvest as to supply the wants at any rate to keep people away from starvation in the other provinces. And owing to railway connections, the produce of one part is easily and quickly transmitted to the

affected parts. Yet, how is it that famine is the prevalent condition all over India? The reason is not far to seek. *Not want of food-stuffs, but want of money is the principal cause of famine.* There are countries on the face of the earth, where the natural produce of the land is inadequate to the wants of their inhabitants. But famine is not to be met with there. The people of those places import food-stuffs from other countries and live comfortable lives. We have been made so very penniless in our perennial struggle with foreign trade that a single year of drought drives us into the ravenous maw of famine. The industries of the land having been stipled, 85 per cent. of the population have taken to agriculture as their only source of livelihood. And that is why people become absolutely hopeless in a single year of drought. If the industries had not been killed, then the number of agriculturists would not have gone on increasing and famine would not have had a firm grip on the people. The last Census returns show that, in 1891, the number of agriculturists increased by 2 crores. What does this show? It shows that the professions, which gave employment to these two crores of people, have gone into the hands of foreigners and that the money which fed them has been transmitted to foreign lands. During these ten years, the ruin of these two crores of people was effected before our very eyes. If this will not open the eyes of our countrymen, if this will not unite all Indians to make a determined attempt at renovating our industries, then we deserve to be wiped out of the face of the earth. Fie to us if we yet encourage foreign industries and while professing to be Swadeshites surrepti-

tiously place our orders for our shirts and coats with Rankin or Laidlaw. In revenue and the profits of foreign capitalist about 500 crores of rupees are being annually drained off from famine-stricken India. It is preposterous that those whose life-blood if thus drained off should indulge in luxuries and procure those luxuries from foreigners. I do not mean to say that all my countrymen are pseudo-Swadeshites of the type described. Their number is very small. Yet it is to be pitied that they should be found at all.

37. THE HON. MR. ABDUL RASUL.*

These matters whether the country is to progress or to retrograde, depend upon the sweet will of our rulers. But as regards the economic condition of the country at any rate, whether the country is to progress or to retrograde, depends upon ourselves. What articles we should use and what articles we should discard, it is for us to decide. In this matter, we, Indians can serve our country by resuscitating those industries which are already dead, reviving those that are dying, improving those that we already have, establishing new ones, using the products of our own country and eschewing the foreign ones. We have resolved to do so. This resolution has given rise to what is known by the name of the Swadeshi movement. The movement is simplicity itself. Its primary object is to promote the industrial development of the country. Time was, when ours

* From the Presidential Address to the Barisal Provincial Conference, 1905.

was a great cotton manufacturing country, when our muslins were the pride of European princesses, when, instead of importing as we do now to our shame, we used to export most extensively our cotton manufacture and supply the needs of various countries. All this we have lost through our wilful neglect. Our so-called education has made us hanker after everything foreign and discard almost everything made in our own country, till we have carried this mania to such an extent that we have driven our manufactures entirely out of the market and facilitated the import of foreign articles, which, in the case of cotton manufactures, have increased by leaps and bounds. In fact we have ourselves killed our own industries.

Now the people have found out their folly and want to repent and by way of doing penance, young and old, rich and poor, prince and peasant, have taken vows to buy and use Swadeshi things—things made in their own country with the sole object of advancing the industrial development of their country. This attitude of our people has naturally had an appreciable effect upon the pockets of the countrymen of our bureaucrats. But why it should be confounded with disaffection is beyond our comprehension. It is a wonder to us that the Government, despite its pretensions as to its being in favour of the scientific and industrial advancement of the country, should look upon this Swadeshi movement as seditious. From the measures, which the Government of the new Province has adopted for its repression, the natural inference is that our rulers want to protect the interests of their countrymen at the expense of those of ours.

The Swadeshi movement is a true and holy cause. Though its primary object is to foster the industrial and scientific advancement of the country, it has awakened in India a new sense of national consciousness and unity. It has united the rich and poor, the educated and the uneducated. It has kindled the spirit of self-reliance and self-sacrifice, which the people have taken vows to uphold. If our repentance is genuine, if we are determined to do penance for the sins we have committed in the past, by having too long neglected our motherland, we can never forsake, and can never be untrue to this great national movement.

I cannot understand some people who advocate the cause of the Swadeshi movement but condemn "boycotting." This is an economic question. One must naturally follow the other. The word "boycott" may be offensive to some ears, but the success of the Swadeshi movement means the abstention from or "boycotting" of foreign goods. If we give preference to articles made in our own country and reject those made in foreign countries, this means boycotting the foreign articles. Why should it give offence to the Government or anybody? Surely in our own house at least we are our own masters and can choose what articles to buy and what to reject.

We are not an independent nation; we have no legislation of our own. We cannot by legislation keep foreign articles out of the market by building up tariff walls, as Europe and America are doing. England has done the same. When cotton was first manufactured in England, a succession of statutes were passed prohibiting the wear of

imported cottons in order to foster the nascent industry. The only way by which we can protect our own industries is by eschewing or boycotting foreign goods.

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38. BABU TARA PRASANNA MUKERJI.*

The Swadeshi is the most effective instrument of national revival. It has come in the fulness of time. We were fast rolling down the ladder, and about to set foot on the ground, when a voice from above cried out 'Stand up, take heart, I will lift you up.' The Swadeshi is a natural evolution—an outcome of a series of events which deeply affected us and brought it on, as a necessary effect.

The soil of India produces all articles requisite to minister to our necessaries and comforts. Though the methods of agriculture prevalent are defective and far behind the standard reached by the Western nations, though it is devoid of the aids, which scientific knowledge and improved machinery have brought to bear on husbandry, the fertility of soil and the familiarity of the Indian cultivator with its capacities and adaptations and his marvellous industry and steadiness, produce commodities, which are more than sufficient for our needs. In olden days the country produced cotton of a superior quality and though through causes, which await investigation, the quality of the stuff had in certain respects deteriorated, still it was good enough to meet our require-

* Presidential Speech delivered at the Hoogly District Conference, 1907.

ments. India was famous for her cotton fabrics in the days of Rome and Greece. She manufactured cotton and silken goods which for fineness of textures and richness of colour were unrivalled in those days; they found their way to the wardrobes of Emperors and Empresses. The merchant princes who formed the East India Company, largely devoted themselves to export the cotton and silken goods of India to Europe. In the early part of the last century, the weavers of Bengal supplied the most valuable staple of commerce to the British and other foreigners. Then came the era of steam-looms and spindles worked by steam-power. The hand-loom and hand-spindle began to give way and soon the industry completely died away. Manchester took over the task of clothing and garnishing India. We still grow the cotton. The vegetable wool was transmitted in ship-loads from our shores to England. It was there turned into cloth and sent back to us for our wear. Millions and millions of men were thrown out of employ and were sunk in abject poverty. The cloth industry was typical of other smaller industries, which all fared a like fate. Famine made the country its favourite abode and as years rolled on, our distress knew no bounds till it completely engulfed us.

In this state of sad depression came in the inspiration, the inspiration that infused new life in us, that we could make our own things. We could improve our hand-looms; we could utilise the steam; we could make organizations for conducting extensive operations. If our looms turned out coarse articles we would be satisfied with them. We would by these means be able to supply food

to our starving millions and abate the gloomy distress, which enshrouds us. This is the idea which has possessed us and we are struggling to give effect to it. This is the Gospel of the Swadeshi.

It is the result of economic laws which are as potent in their operation as physical laws. Men who produce the raw materials, and who are also adepts in converting those materials into articles of utility should have the privilege of making those articles for their own use. Stated in plain words, the proposition appears to be a truism. It is the inevitable corollary of the rules of political economy, rules which regulate the production and distribution of things all over the earth. The first requisite of success is a thorough conviction of the truth of the thesis, not a hesitating, halting, tentative faith, but a fact which goes to the bottom of our mind, all-absorbing and all-reaching, a faith which is a part of our intellectual self and instinct. The second requisite is the knowledge that it is the only means of our salvation. Our men are without work, without house, clothing or food. Harrowing destitution gnaws on all sides. Our soil is productive and our people are industrious, but the drain on our resources is so great as to leave very little to us. If we can revive our industries, if we can make our own things and are capable of supplying our own wants, what we pay to the foreigner for making these things for us will remain with us, and will add to the fund of national wealth. By self-acting laws, it will raise the standard of living amongst us, augment our comforts and become the means of feeding and clothing the needy by finding

occupation for them. It is a noble ambition to chalk out the path of new industry; it is philanthropy of an enlightened order which furnishes means of sustenance to countless numbers of men, generation after generation, and makes them work for it.

Diversities of occupation open a wide field for the play of the intellect. Art is much more subtle than agriculture. Agriculture follows a few well-known laws of nature and though its capacities for development are great, they pale before the attainments of art. The intellectual standard amongst nations that exclusively devote themselves to agricultural pursuits is comparatively low. Art is the creature of man's ingenuity, and as man's ingenuity is ever growing in excellence, the progress of art is practically limitless.

There are difficulties in our way, but a firm will and perseverance will conquer them in no time. Swadeshi is not synonymous with boycott. I quote a paragraph from a letter which I addressed to the *Statesman* two years ago and which was published in its issue of the 4th October 1905.

> Boycott is not a true representation of the event. It is not a spirit of revenge, of hostility to British or other foreign goods, a desire to do harm to other countries or nations, which was given animation to the movement. It has been impelled by the sole desire to find employment for our people, to afford means of sustenance to our starving millions. Foreign goods may not find a very profitable market, which would be an indirect and negative result, but that is not the goal towards which we run. The object before us is to better our own kith and kin.

As Swadeshi does not directly involve boycott, it should not be carried out as such. There should be no

transgressions of the established laws for giving effect to it. But all means, within the limits of the law, may be fairly resorted to.

The Swadeshi is the product of the noble and persistent efforts of British Statesmen and England ought to be proud of the result. Sympathetic British rulers, aggrieved at the decay of the indigenous industries of the country, contemplated with sadness their near extinction and made signal efforts to keep them alive, The annals of administration abound in minutes, penned by wise Governors, emphasising the importance of supporting the handicrafts of India and directing that the needs of the State, whenever possible, should be supplied from the Indian market.

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39. Dewan Bahadur GOVINDARAGHAVA IYER.*

To realise the importance and justify the necessity of Swadeshi movement, one has only to recollect the circumstances, under which the indigenous industries of our country have been reduced to their present admittedly wretched condition. Free Trade between one country and another becomes a mockery, when the trade and the industries of one country are carried on, under the most favourable conditions, and the trade and industries of the other country have been crippled by all kinds of extraneous impediments. Whatever might be the justice of our position, in this respect, it is impossible to get

* From the Presidential Address to the Vizagapatam Industrial Conference, 1907.

the Indian Government to see, eye to eye with us, and even if they can be made to do so, they will be impotent in the face of the powerful combination, that will be formed against them, whether the party in England is the Liberal party or the Conservative party. We have, therefore, to mainly depend on ourselves for the development of our industries, assisted as we may be by the Government to the extent possible for them without the infringement of principles, on which the interests of the powerful British trader mainly depend. What 'Protection' may do in other countries, that, the Swadeshi movement, as an Industrial movement, has to do in this country. With determination, union, steadfastness, the persistent practice of a well-reasoned scheme of self-sacrifice and a careful avoidance of all perilous path in the making and maintenance of our industries, we may still hope to make headway, and here I will remind you of the grave responsibility that every one of us is under, not to retard the progress of the Swadeshi movement, by what he says or does. We stand in need of help from all quarters, where we can have it. Our position as a nation the success that may attend our efforts to rise in the rank of nations, very largely rests upon the state of our industries and manufactures and no restraint, that we may impose on ourselves and no sacrifice, that we may subject ourselves to, can be considered too great for the fostering and betterment of our industries and manufactures. It is impossible, when you notice the great disproportion between the Indian supply and the Indian demand, to suppose that the deficiency in supply is solely due to causes that can be quickly removed. A sincere resolve to patronise

only home-made goods and exclude foreign manufactures is not all, that is necessary. I think the difficulty is far greater and less surmountable. The supply has to be made equal to the demand by strenuous, patient labour and the real difficulty, that we have to surmount, if the Swadeshi movement is to succeed, is not, in getting people to use home-made articles, but to get enough articles manufactured for their use. We have to recognise the fact of the low income of the ordinary Indian ryot and the difference that a few annas may make in the comfort of his life, and the great necessity there is for our not making his condition even more miserable than it is, by insisting upon his so spending the limited money at his disposal, as not to secure for him the maximum of comfort. It is impossible to get the ordinary ryot, who, after all, is the ultimate arbiter of the destinies of some of our large industries, to submit himself to the sacrifice, that we demand of him. If, on the other hand, the home-made goods are shown not to be more costly, on the whole, than foreign-made ones, we may reasonably count upon securing his use of such articles and *Boycott* will become an accomplished fact.

Economically sound, *Boycott* appears to me to be somewhat impracticable at present, because the majority of the Indian population are too poor to give effect to it and because we have not, nor are we likely to have, in the near future, the supply needed to take the place of the goods *boycotted*.

40. THE HON. MR. GHUZNAVI.*

In a supreme moment of despair and despondency and as the only resource left to them, they resolved on the 7th of August 1905, in one of the most influential and numerously attended meetings, ever held in the Town Hall of Calcutta, to abstain from the purchase of British goods as a protest against the indifference of the British Public and the contemptuous treatment of Indian opinion by the Government. The resolution was perfectly legal and legitimate. It was forced upon an unwilling people by the supreme exigencies of their situation by a Government which had turned a deaf ear to their persistent appeals ; and be it remarked that Lord Curzon, who was the head of the Government then, now eagerly disowns the paternity of his pet child. The Resolution was so reasonable that at the time it was warmly approved by the leading exponents of Anglo-Indian opinion, by such organs of English opinion in India as the *Englishman* and the *Statesman*, If they have since changed their opinion and if they now condemn the Swadeshi-Boycott movement the fact must be set down to the fickleness of the popular mind its liability to be swayed hither and thither by every breath of popular opinion. However that may be, let there be no mistake as to our attitude. Called into existence as a protest against as national wrong, the movement has had a wonderful development. It gave an impetus to our industries; it deepened and stimulated the national sentiment and affected every phase of thought. There

* Presidential speech delivered at the Partition Day, Calcutta, in the 9th of August, 1908.

was scarcely a department of the national activities over which it did not exercise a dominating influence. Religion, morals, social usages, education and domestic economy, all came within its wide and comprehensive influence. It captured the home and enthroned itself in the hearts of those who rule our hearths and our homes. There are those who tell us that the Swadeshi-Boycott movement is michievous and should be abandoned. To them our reply would be "Go and make your appeal to our ladies who are the staunchest advocates of the Swadeshi movement and to the children whom they nurse and who imbibe Swadeshism with their mother's milk." Our rulers are amazed at the strength of the Swadeshi movement as observable in the younger generation. They have not indeed imbibed the spirit from their schools over which the Risly Circular hangs like the sword of Damocles, but from their homes, that centre and seat of all beneficent influence, presided over by the mothers of our race who are beyond all circulars and prospects of promotions, beyond even the keen gaze of our detectives. Swadeshism is firmly rooted in the soil. From the home as a centre, it has spread all over the country; it runs in the blood: with the blood will it descend to future generations. Who can impede the triumphant march of this great and progressive movement. Repression has not killed it; repression will not kill it: repression cannot kill a movement such as ours, divinely inspired, a gift from heaven. I have heard it said that the Swadeshi-Boycott movement is attended by intimidation and coercion. I will not say that there has not been here and there a case of intimidation and coercion. Even the

most legitimate movement is liable to abuse. Taking food which is a necessary function becomes in its excess a sin. No sane man ever thinks of giving up a legitimate movement because some in the exuberance of their zeal have been guilty of excesses. Apply to Swadeshi-Boycott movement the test which we apply to the other movements, and you will find that it will admirably stand the test. This charge of coercion and intimidation brought against our movement is an old official myth which has been disproved by the hard logic of facts. You will remember that our leaders, soon after the disturbances in Eastern Bengal, issued a manifesto in which they proved the falsity of the charge by reference to extracts from the judgments of Magistrates and Judges, who dealt with specific allegations of coercion. I was a humble signatory of that manifesto and can, therefore, speak with some authority. Let there be no misunderstanding about our movement. Believing as we do that we have received it as a gift from Almighty God, our movement is based upon love, love of country, upon the most ennobling and the most inspiring of all human sentiment. No leader of our movement has ever spoken or written on the subject, who has not enforced this view and among us the authority of the leaders is so great that their view is bound to be accepted by the people at large. Not force or violence, which we deprecate with all the emphasis that we can command but moral persuasion is our only weapon in the great struggle in which we are engaged. If we had a voice in the making of our laws, we should have built a tariff-wall for the protection of our infant industries ; we should have

followed the example of the British colonies; but as we are impotent in the counsels of our rulers, we are forced to fall back upon moral persuasion and the resources which our social arrangements supply. We are not to be deterred from the pursuit of a perfectly legal and legitimate course by a hollow appeal which tells us that Boycott must necessarily be attended by coercion and intimidation. I confess I do not like the word Boycott. Our word *Barjan*, which means disuse, implies no illwill or hatred, and this is the word which is known to the masses of our people and which we use in addressing them.

Great indeed have been the achievements of our national movement, since the impetus communicated to it on the 7th August 1905; its triumphs are writ large in contemporary annals, and futile is the effort to belittle them. The weaving industry in Bengal has received an unwonted impetus. The weavers had given up their work and had become day-labourers. They have now come back to their looms, and this community all over Bengal is in a high condition of prosperity. The Magistrate of Hooghly certifies to this fact in his Administration Report and other Magistrates bear similar testimony. The Bengal Lakshmi Cotton Mills, the outcome of the Swadeshi movement has been a great success. It is the most prosperous Cotton Millon this side of India. Another Cotton Mill is soon to be started and the Bengal Lakshmi Cotton Mill will be further expanded. The Bengal Hosiery Company, Limited, started last year, is doing very well. Several other cotton and silk mills have been started. Indeed, along the whole line, our domestic industries have received a

new impulse. Several Banks, Insurance Companies, Co-operative Societies and Trading Firms have come into existence under the impulse of the Swadeshi movement, and they are all in a prospercus condition.

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41. THE HON. RAO BAHADUR R. N. MUDHOLKAR.*

The principle of Swadeshism, which is manifesting itself with such strength for some time past, is an expression of this lofty spirit of duty and dignity which is spreading amongst the people. It embodies the sentiment of nationalism or patriotism which is such a potent factor in the progress of the human race. Devotion for the mother land, love for all her children, a burning desire for strengthening their capabilities so that they may labour for their improvement of the human kind and for the faithful observance of the great moral laws, which rule the Universe, these constitute the essence of this sentiment. The duty which it lays on us is to create a strong, robust, hard working, industrious, sober, thrifty body of citizens capable of enduring the vicissitudes of life and fit to fight its battles. The citizens have to be equipped with the knowledge of the working of the forces of nature, their action and interaction ; and this strength and this knowledge have to be guided and made efficient by moral sense and spiritual faith. In its comprehensive aspect and full significance, the Swadeshi principle or, as it might be rendered, the principle of nationalism or patriotism is a

* Presidential Address delivered at the Third Central Provinces and Berar Provincial Conference.

message to each nation to qualify itself for the noble purpose of strenuously exerting towards the perfection of mankind. Faith in truth, justice, righteousness and universal love are the bedrock on which its temple is reared. Associated in organised societies in which human units have to live and work, maintenance of peace and order, the establishment of just relations between the different classes and grades of workers, the promotion of co-operation and healthy fellow-feelings amongst them are a prime necessity. Thus it is that politics play such a prominent part in the economy of the human race. The questions they deal with have to be approached not in a spirit of apology, but as a matter of imperative necessity and high duty.

Economic Swadeshism forms a part of this great sphere of work and its importance to the Indian community, placed in the situation in which it is by adventitious causes cannot be too highly estimated. . . . . . .

With all the natural advantages which India possesses, in spite of the general fertility of her soil, the suitability of the climate for purposes of production of wealth, the vastness of the mineral resources, and the peaceful, sober, industrious and thrifty character of the people, there is deep widespread poverty in the land. This poverty has justly been attributed to the decadence of our old industrial system and to the bulk of the population being thrown on land. The First Famine Commission, which sat 28 years ago, pointed out that this low industrial condition was a powerful contributory cause of the calamities which followed a failure of rains, and they

suggested the adoption of steps for promoting the establishment of new industries and for the revival of the old ones.

Gentlemen, what is true of India generally, applies also to these provinces.

For the creation of a sound industrial system which will by its flourishing condition afford profitable employment to large sections of our people, two things are first wanted: (1) Capital, and (2) Technical and Scientific knowlege and skill. Newly established industries, however, demand tender nurture and special care like infants. The self-governing countries supply such special care and nurture, by a well-regulated system of protective tariffs and bounties. These methods are not favoured by the prevailing economic policy of the British Government. But it is quite in our power to give such protections ourselves to the products of our indigenous manufactures. We can by resolving to use Indian articles when these can be had, and by giving preference to them over foreign ones, even though the cost might be higher, afford to our struggling nascent industries, the help and succour which they require in their childhood. It is a matter for congratulation that the Government also are moving in the matter and have adopted a sympathetic attitude towards indigenous articles. But the main task is ours, the main responsibility is ours, and it is we, who must put our shoulders to the wheel. The movement for the encouragement of Swadeshi articles has, over and above its objective results, a great subjective value. It teaches us the value of standing on one's own legs and develops self-reliance, self-help and self-confidence. It will serve

to bring the different classes of the community more closely together and promote unity, mutual sympathy and fellow-feeling.

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42. HIS HONOR SIR HERBERT T. WHITE.*

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF RANGOON.

We hear on all sides of the decay of indigenous industries, and I for one am heartily sorry to think that there is foundation for some of the complaints on this score. If think it is a subject for regret, that beautiful home-made silks should be displaced by foreign goods, and that Burmese umbrellas should give place to the useful, but unpicturesque imported article, it seems to me pitiable that your silversmiths should make teapots and salt-cellars, and your lacquer workers cigar cases of portentous size. But the remedy is to a great extent in your own hands. If you prefer to wear home-made silks, the industry will revive. If you would give up the black umbrella, the æsthetic taste would be gratified. So far as is possible, Government encourages indigenous arts and industries and sets its face against artistic deterioration. I am afraid I cannot promise to advocate protection to save either Burmese silks or Burmese umbrellas. If you prefer cheaper and less beautiful articles, it is not in the power of Government to baulk your inclination. But I do not think the decline in the

* From a speech delivered on the 1st of August, 1908, at Myingyan, in reply to an address of welcome.

national taste or the consequent decay of indigenous industries can justly be regarded as due to any act of omission of the Government.

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43. MR. CHARLES W. McKINN.*

For myself, I have practised and preached Swadeshi for thirty-five years—Indian clothes, shoes, cigars, beer, carpets, curtains, draperies, ornaments. As I look around, everything in my little drawing-room, except the engravings and books, is from the East, most of it from India. I went into the family mansion of a gentleman who has been lecturing on Swadeshi in Calcutta. I saw no Agra carpet, no Delhi table-clothes nor embroideries, no Benares brasses, Jeypur enamels; no Punjab wood-carving, Mysore ivories; no Bidri ware. Many beautiful and tasteful things were there from France and Italy, in damask, marble and glass, but nothing from India. Just the same in another residence of an Indian ruling Chief not a country-made article. In vain has Lord Curzon pressed upon the Princes, at all times, the propriety of their patronizing their country articles. In vain does Lady Fraser to my knowledge personally use Mainamati fabrics. In vain did I myself and Sir Edward Buck in the "*Pioneer*, urge wealthy Indians to patronize Agra marble work and Lucknow models and silver. Here is a simple test; the precious things of the Dholpur Raj have been publicly auctioned at Simla and Calcutta. Except one Agra table,

* From a letter to the *Statesman*.

which I bought and presented to the Calcutta Museum, there was not a single specimen of high-class or any Indian art-ware in this magnificent collection; even the crown which cost above ten lakhs was made by an English firm. The Queen-Empress, whose coronation robes at Lady Curzon's instance were prepared in Agra, has probably done more for the Swadeshi movement than all the Princes of Bengal. True there are many flourishing arts and crafts in the United Provinces and the Punjab. Thirty years ago, I pointed out as editor of the *Oudh Gazetteer* all the industries, which might be followed with success. Especially I dwelt on glassware, for which materials lie fathom-deep on the Oosar plain. This is being worked; the tall chimney of a glass factory can be seen from the Rajpur road. But the owner works quietly; he has no time to talk; he does not even advertise. Who have pushed the iron, steel and manganese industries in Bengal, the Central Province and Madras of recent years? Martin, Turner, Glass, Olphert and myself, and no one gave more cordial support than Mr. J. B. Fuller. He is also the author of a most valuable and elaborate work on tobacco, oil-seeds, cotton, hemp and flax, which was sold to me out of the Tippera Collectorate library for two rupees, as no one ever looked at it. Such is the backwardness of Bengal. Did not Sir Edward Buck lose all his money, as Neath and many another did before him, in starting Indian industries? I have myself spent about ten thousand rupees; nearly all lost. How often have I been called an Indian rag-bag in my domestic circle, for wearing Indian garments even in London. Please advocate justice to English officers and their wives, who have felt for the poor

patient artisan, and done their best for him. Remember that the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. excise on Indian mill fabrics, and customs duty on Manchester goods whatever its defects is a protection for the hand-loom weaver. The principal sinners in the matter are the middle classes of India. Often have I pointed out to a Congressman that everything he was wearing was of English make, while my entire costume, except the hat, was country-made. By all means, boycott English or German-made cloths—peacefully, soberly and persevere in doing so. May I tender one word of advice? Let each patriot make and stick to the rule that at least half of his expenditure on clothes must be on country-made articles, while imported cigarettes should be avoided like poison.

44. MR. BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.*

I stand on this platform to day not to make a speech on the Swadeshi resolution. To deliver a speech on Swadeshism in Calcutta is something like carrying coal to New Castle! I do not think you want any inspiration or any instruction on this subject. Your leaders, like my friend Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and others, have trained you up in Swadeshism to such an extent that we might imitate you for a long time and yet we may not come to your level. I stand here to-day to declare that some of the ideas which were not originally incorporated in the resolution and which, unfortunately, I had to suggest, by way

* Speech delivered at the Calcutta Congress 1906, in support of the Resolution on the Swadeshi Movement.

of amendment, have been accepted; and we have now unanimously come to the resolution that was read to you by Mr. Ananda Charlu. I am glad that you have come to such a solution for one thing, because our Anglo-Indian friends had predicted that the 22nd Congress would probably be the last Congress; and that it would meet with a premature death immediately on attaining the age of majority! That prediction has been falsified; and falsified under the able, impartial and judicious guidance of our veteran leader whom you have in the Chair. Our differences have been squared; both parties have approached the question in a spirit of conciliation and not half way. Thanks to my friends, both Hindus and Mahomedans, we have come to an amicable settlement on that point. It is a mistake to suppose that the Swadeshi movement is not favoured by Mahomedans. It is a mistake to suppose that it requires sacrifice from poor people. We, the middle classes are the greatest offenders in this respect. The poor Kumbi villagers require not many foreign articles at all,—probably none at all. It is we, the middle classes, who are the consumers of foreign goods; and since this Government is not going to stop the drain by imposing a protective duty it becomes imperatively necessary to adopt a measure by which we can do ourselves what the Government is bound to do and what the Government ought to have done long ago. That one point was self-help; and another point was determination; and the third, sacrifice. You will find that all this included in this resolution, joined with the declaration made in the Presidential Address that Swadeshism is a forced necessity in India

owing to unnatural economic conditions of India, makes up a complete case for you. I trust that that resolution of self-help adopted this year will form the basis of other resolutions of self-help in years to come. With these few words and as time is much advanced and I am not prepared to make a speech on the present occasion, I ask your leave to sit down.

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45. MR. HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.*

Now that the Swadeshi movement has proved a signal success, claimants are not wanting for its authorship. Only last year Mr. Leotard wrote a long letter to the Calcutta *Englishman* advancing the claims of Sir George Birdwood. And even before that shrewd Mr. McKinn had written to the Calcutta *Statesman* endeavouring to show that the credit should be divided between Sir Edward Buck and himself, because they had—in the *Pioneer*—urged wealthy Indians to patronize Agra marble work, and Lucknow models and silver.

The "new" movement began in Bengal, from where it has now extended to the sister Provinces. And in Bengal, its success has been nothing if not marvellous. The croakings of Anglo-Indian newspapers have been silenced, and the ridicule of Anglo-Indian "friends" of India have now been checked. And official reports have shown how very successful the endeavours of Bengal in this direction have been.

* Re-print from the *Indian Review*, April, 1908.

That in Bengal the Swadeshi movement has been a success will be evident from the following extracts from official reports.

Let us first take the case of a single division in Bengal.

The Commissioner of the Burdwan Division in Western Bengal wrote in his report of Manufactures and Mines in his division during 1906-07 :—

Cotton cloth is manufactured in all the districts of the division. The Swadeshi movement has contributed largely to the development of the industry in all of them, except Bankura, where the inclination of the people to use country-made things is not pronounced, and consequently, the sale of Manchester goods has not much decreased. The sub-division of Ghatal is the principal centre of manufacture of cotton cloths in Midnapore. In Chandrakona and Radhanagar in this sub-division, dhoties, saries, and uranies of the best quality are manufactured and exported to a very considerable extent to the Howrah mart every week. Various kinds of striped cloths are also manufactured for coats and shirts. In the Arambagh sub-division of Hooghly, the total value of the outturn was Rs. 1,410,600 against Rs. 1,114,906 in the previous year, the increase being due to the greater and more universal use of country-made goods.

The Magistrate of Hooghly writes :—

It appears that while formerly the weavers had to take advances from the middlemen and were always more or less indebted to the latter, they are now very much better off and, if anything, the middlemen are sometimes indebted to them. I was told the other day by the President of the Dwarhata Union that a young widow of the weaver caste who would formerly have, in all possibility, suffered great privation, was now earning Rs. 16 or 17 a month, and maintaining herself and her younger brother and sister in some comfort. In Dhaniakhali, I was told that a weaver earns about Rs. 20 a month and the Sub-divisional Officer of Serampore reported that a weaver there earns Rs. 25 a month. On the other

hand, a large dealer in Dhaniakhali was complaining that he was doing less business now than before, because new dealers from Chandernagore and elsewhere are coming to the villages, whereas formerly he and a few others had a sort of monopoly. There cannot be any doubt that, on account of the Swadeshi movement, the weavers as a class, who are stay-at-home people, have distinctly advanced. In the sub-division of Kalna and Asansol of the district of Burdwan, fly-shuttle looms are being largely used and the people are said to appreciate them.*

In the official report for 1906-07, † we read the following about the condition of the same division :—

In the Burdwan Division, the crops were disappointing and high prices prevailed almost throughout the year. Nevertheless, on account of the larger demand for labour on railways, collieries, mills and brickfields, the cultivating and labouring classes are believed to have earned better wages than in any previous year, and the artisan classes, who usually suffer most when high prices rule, are believed also to have prospered owing to the increased demand for country-made goods. The class, however, which has participated most in this general prosperity is that of the weavers, who remain at home and do not seek employment elsewhere. It is reported that on account of the demand for country-made cloths, weavers working with the fly-shuttle can earn as much as Rs. 20 a month, and that the demand for their services is daily increasing. * * * * * Some prospect of improvement in their material condition is held out by the present Swadeshi movement, in so far as it may induce the younger generation to devote themselves to a technical rather than to a literary profession.

In another place, we read :—

The Swadeshi movement has given an impetus to the local manufacture of cloth and thus has improved the condition of the weavers. The agitation against imported sugar and salt and cigarettes has temporarily checked the use of these commodities, but

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* *The Indian Trade Journal, July* 25, 1907.

† Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Lower Provinces for the year 1906-07.

no good local substitutes have been produced, although country-made cigarettes (*biris*) are said to have displaced imported cigarettes to some extent.

Other divisions, too, have similarly benefited by the movement. Under "Economic Developments," we read the following about the Presidency Division in the same report :—

The weaving industry in the Basirhat sub-division of the 24 Parganas is reported to have received an impetus from the Swadeshi movement. * * * In Nadia, the Swadeshi movement has certainly benefited the weaving industry at Santipur and Kumarkhali. * * * Shops and firms dealing exclusively in indigenous articles have come into existence in all important centres of trade in the district of Jessore. * * Mr. Sen (the Collector,) has found, on inquiry, that the number of local looms has increased and is of opinion that the sale of country-made cloth has increased by about 20 to 25 per cent. in the district. * * * In Khulna also, hand-loom weaving has received an impetus from the Swadeshi movement.

The report of the Bhagalpur Division is encouraging :—

The Sub-Divisional Officer of Dumka is of opinion that there is a great opening here for a combined tobacco-curing cigarette factory. The Swadeshi movement has given an impetus to the shoe-making industry in this sub-division and the local shoemakers formed themselves into two confederacies in Dumka town, and are now turning out shoes of home-cured leather said to be quite as good as those to be had in Calcutta. Mr. Thomson (the Sub-divisional Officer) thinks that there is every probability of this industry expanding, and that a tannery here on modern principles would be a good venture.

The report from Orissa is equally encouraging :—

"It is said"—we read in the report—"that the indigenous weaving industry was somewhat stimulated by the Swadeshi movement, presumably by a demand for country-made cloth for

export and large numbers of labourers are able to find very remunerative employment in Calcutta and elsewhere."

Even backward Chota Nagpur has not been able to resist the influence of the movement which has penetrated into its hills and jungles.

The use of foreign articles has received a very slight check owing to the Swadeshi movement. . . . . There has also been a tendency in centres of industrial and commercial activity to the growth of the habit of smoking imported cigarettes, which have, however, to a very large extent, been supplanted by local cigarettes known as *biris*. . . . Imported sugar is mostly used in centres of commercial and industrial activity, and in the urban areas in this district (Manbhum) by the well-to-do class of people and by confectioners. Since the Swadeshi movement the use of this article has, however, been somewhat checked.

The triumph of Swadeshi is writ large on the "Report on the Administration of Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1905-06." Here "the total number of factories at the close of the year was 82, or 11 more than in the previous year." This is the constructive side of the work. The destructive side is represented by the fact that "foreign imports, which since 1901-02 have increased seven-fold, showed a decrease of over 16 per cent. during the year." Under the head "Imports from Calcutta" we read :—

The total value of imports by coasting steamers from Calcutta to Chittagong fell from Rs. 19·44 lakhs to Rs. 16·72 lakhs, showing a decrease of Rs. 2·72 lakhs, or 14 per cent. The greater portion of this decrease was contributed by piece-goods, the value of which fell from Rs. 6·98 lakhs to Rs. 5·51 lakhs, or by 1·47 lakhs, due partly to the short rice crop, and partly to the effects of the political agitation against the use of English goods as a protest against the formation of the new province.

Then again under 'Salt,' which is the next (to metal) important item of foreign import, there was a decrease

from Rs. 4·14 lakhs to Rs. 3·32 lakhs, due to there being a large stock in the Government salt golas in the beginning of the year as well as to the political agitation which followed upon the formation of the new province. It is worth noticing that while imports of salt from the United Kingdom and Germany declined by 6,000 and 2,000 tons, respectively, there was an increase of 7,000 tons brought from Aden.* 'The people of Chittagong,' remarks the Commissioner of that division, were advised from Calcutta that Aden is considered as part of India and that, if they could not obtain the Indian articles, they should prefer German to British.'

That this movement has left untouched no class of commodities will be evident from the following note on "Imported Liquor" in the report ;—"In some districts this growing competition of imported liquor with country spirit received a severe check from the Swadeshi movement, when pressure was put upon licensed vendors to close their shops." And though the report took care to add "But this check is not likely to be more than temporary"—the Commissioner of Excise, Eastern Bengal and Assam, forgot to smother facts in misleading assertions. In his annual report (1906-07), he says that owing to the Swadeshi movement the year was unfavourable to the holders of imported liquor licenses. Sales in the local shops diminished considerably in most of the Eastern Bengal districts, and licensees suffered losses from the beginning of the year. Licenses which had been taken at first were surrendered later. In Bakarganj,

* The decrease in imports from the United Kingdom and Germany is counterbalanced by the increase in imports from Aden—which explodes the myth about the stock in the salt golas.

for instance, where the Seditious Meetings Act has been put in operation, out of 15 licenses sanctioned, only 12 were settled at the beginning of the year. Of these, 5 were surrendered after the experience of a few months' working, leaving only 7 licenses at the end of the year. The holders of the latter did only a poor business, and 5 of the shops being considered unnecessary have been permanently closed, leaving only 2 retail licenses in force in 1907-08. The Collector of Dacca reported :—

Even the public women of Dacca and Naraingani took to the so-called 'Swadeshi vow' and joined the general movement against the use of foreign articles. People formerly addicted to imported liquor took to country spirit.

The Collector of Mymensingh remarked :—

During the year, the sale of imported liquor decreased to such an extent on account of the Swadeshi movement that 9 imported liquor shops were surrendered in May and June, 1906 and could only be settled with much difficulty in September, 1906 at reduced rates.

The Commissioner remarks :—

Up to the year 1905-06, apprehensions were entertained lest cheap imported liquor should gradually oust country spirit from the market.........The Swadeshi movement has, however, completely altered the situation and the year's results show a large increase in the consumption of country spirits and country rum at the expense of imported liquor. The check which the spread of the taste for imported liquor among the middle classes of the country has received would have been a matter for congratulation, were it not counterbalanced by the increased consumption of country-made spirits. In fact, what seems to have taken place is the substitution of one class of liquor for another and not, it is to be feared, a spread of temperance principles.

Thus the chief source of strength of the "new" Swadeshi—the want of which has resulted in the collapse of Swadeshi enterprises before— is evident. It lies in the

determination of people to boycott foreign articles. There may be room for difference of opinion about the wisdom or utility of a political boycott. But the wisdom and utility of an industrial boycott cannot be gainsaid. It is but a phase of that preference which is necessary—nay inevitable—for the development of indigenous industries.

The Calcutta Congress of 1906 adopted the following resolutions unanimously:—

(1) Having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in the administration and that their representations to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the boycott movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of that province was and is legitimate.

(2) This Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries and to stimulate the production of indigenous articles by giving them preference over imported commodities, even at some sacrifice.

The first of these resolutions recommends boycott as a political weapon and, of course, goes further than mere goods. But the latter recommends an industrial boycott; and the significant words "even at some sacrifice" show that boycott is aimed at. Those present at the session of the Congress will remember how very particular the delegates were on the wording of these two resolutions by those who had, at first, shown a decided dislike for them.

In the Congress of 1907, too, which ended in confusion at Surat, the attempt to modify these two resolutions was, to some extent at least, responsible for the break-up.

That Indians are in earnest in the matter of boycotting foreign goods, we have already shown from the official

reports of Bengal. Yet another proof is to be found in the fact that the *London Times* in reviewing the export trade of England in cotton piece-goods for May 1907, remarked:—"India took less by 42,192,500 yards." It may also be noted that some of the Lancashire and Manchester spinners had found it necessary to close their mills for a fortnight "for the purpose of easing overstocked markets" and thus throw out of work 150,000 operatives.

Such a result within a very short period is nothing if not encouraging.

Men trained in the traditions of the English Schools of fanatical Free Traders object to the boycott as contrary to those principles of Free Trade which, they hold, must be considered the cause of England's industrial prosperity. But they forget that England's Free Trade has followed and not preceded Protection. She had adopted and enforced Protection to foster her indigenous industries. And only when they had become flourishing and begun to demand huge quantities of raw materials and when, moreover, it had become a physical necessity for her to import food-grains from abroad, that she introduced Free Trade. Other countries which can support their own peoples have stuck to Protection.

It is a paradoxical feature of the United States tariff that it has grown with the industries it was intended to foster, and the stronger the industries have grown, the more fostering they have obtained. If an explanation of that paradox were asked for, at Washington, it would very likely be said with a shrug of the shoulders that the more the industries prospered, the better able they were to pay for being fostered. The relation between tariff duties and campaign funds have always been notoriously intimate. On both sides, it has been a question of business rather than of politics.*

* Lawson—*American Industrial Problems.*

The English are now coming to realise that Free Trade is not an unmixed good. A section of English statesmen is already calling the Free Trade policy—" the Free Trade fetish."

One of the most striking passages in Mr. Chamberlain's speech at Greenock, on the 7th October 1903, was that in which, after eulogising the wisdom and foresight of the leaders of the Protectionists' Movement in Germany, France and the United States, he summarised the policy which, according to him, had in all the three countries been crowned with success.

"Its main idea, he said, "is to keep for a manufacturing country its home industry, to fortify the home industry, to make it impregnable, then, having left the fort, behind which no enemy could attack with possible advantage, move forward and invade other countries, and attack specially one country, and that is our own, which we have left totally unguarded to all these assaults."

Prior to this an English writer had said :—

Lacking a protected home market and having to meet a cut-throat competition from Germany, the English manufacturer has no chance to make his profit on high-priced goods for home consumption nor that correlative ability to sell cheap in the export trade which Germany has, and he thus meets his rival in neutral markets heavily handicappad. So England suffers a double loss from Germany's Protective system ; the Germans shut her out of Germany by hostile tariffs ; and from the advantages accruing therefrom to German manufactures, she is badly disadvantaged in other markets, including her own home market.*

Mill, as Mr. Morley said, was a great and benignant lamp of wisdom at which many kindled their modest rushlights. Though an out-and-out advocate of Free Trade, Mill was constrained to admit :—

* Williams—" Made in Germany."

The only case in which, on mere principles of political economy, protecting duties can be defensible, is when they are imposed temporarily (especially in a young and rising nation), in hopes of neutralizing a foreign industry, in itself perfectly to the circumstances of the country. The superiority of one country over another in a branch of production often arises only from having begun it sooner. There may be no inherent advantage on one part or disadvantage on the other, but only a present superiority of acquired skill and experience. A country which has this skill and experience yet to acquire may in other respects be better adopted to the production than those which were earlier in the field ; and besides, it is a just remark of Mr. Roe, that nothing has a greater tendency to promote improvements in any branch of production, than its trial under a new set of conditions. But it cannot be expected that individuals should, at their own risk, or rather to their certain loss, introduce a new manufacture and bear the burden of carrying it on until the producers have been educated up to the level of those, with whom the processes are traditional. A protective duty, continued for a reasonable time, will sometimes be the least inconvenient mode in which the nation can tax itself for the support of such an experiment.*

Even if we accept Mill's qualified support of Protection we cannot help arriving at the conclusion that India needs protection for her nascent industries. But it is clever that the Government cannot and will not adopt a policy of Protection in the interest of Indian industries.† The only course left open to the people to promote their industrial welfare is to levy a voluntary tax on themselves, *i.e.*, to

* *Principles of Political Economy.*

† An Indian Member of the Legislative Council of Lord Elgin when as Viceroy he imposed the excise duties on the cloth woven in Indian mills, made the very shrewd remark : "There are indeed sixty good reasons for His Excellency's proposal, for there are sixty Lancashire members who have votes in the House of Commons." This explains the inability of the Government to adopt a policy of Protection for the purpose of fostering Indian industries.

make a determined effort to boycott all foreign goods in the production of which India can successfully compete with foreign countries—provided her workmen can acquire the required skill and experience. This is industrial boycott—a measure which has already been with such used signal success in India and the success of which alone would be the greatest justification for its extensive use by Indians.

46. PANDIT RAMBAJ CHAUDHURI.*

In the Punjab the movement is about 25 years old, in Bombay 30 years and in Bengal, if not more, at least 20 years old and so in Madras and the United Provinces. The Arya Samaj has been trying its best towards the same end. A fair number of other Hindu and Mohammedan, sectarian and non-sectarian associations have, with this as their only objects or one of the objects, been working for many years. There are many number of Government officials and others working in the movement and no one ever dreamt that after so long a time the Government would wake up and call them "seditionists." The Swadeshi movement is not a political movement though the boycott movement is essentially so. The boycott is a protest against the iniquitous attempt on the part of the Government to separate brother from brother. It is certainly a declaration of a sincere resolve of the Bengali mind that it will not suffer and will not allow the partition to last long. They have not only challenged the

* Report from the *Indian Review*, July, 1906.

wisdom but have defied the action of the Government. They refuse to recognise the right of a Government to disunite a loving and a living people for ever. We see with awe and wonder the great and successful struggle the Bengalis are making in keeping the unity and honour of the Bengali-speaking race intact.

The Swadeshi movement is essentially a non-political movement. It has nothing to do with the Government be it Liberal or Conservative, be it Lord Curzon the Viceroy or Lord Minto,—in fact whether the English rule India or the German, and the Sovereign be Christian or Mohammedan. It is a Self-Government of the people by the people in matters where the Government has no jurisdiction. It involves no relationship between the Government and the people. Its foundations are as strong and deep-rooted, as the sentiments of self-love and self-preservation are in the human soul. Self-reliance and self-respect are the immediate results of this great mental, moral and physical upheaval of the nation. They are the essentials, the inseparable incidents of the awakening of the self-consciousness of a nation.

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47. Mr. MUSHIR HOSAIN KIDWAI, Bar-at-Law.*

Some critics—with whom wish is evidently the father to thought—say that all Indian Mussalmans are anti-Swadeshists. That is untrue. I am a Mussalman and yet I am a Swadeshist. I am a Pan-Islamist Mussalman too —a Mussalman whose sympathies for his religionists are

* Reprint from the *Hindustan Review*, September 1908.

not confined to the boundaries of India, but are world-wide and extend to the whole Muslim world. I also know that what I publicly say or write is heard and read with interest not only by the Mussalmans of India, but also by those of Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, Persia and other Islamic countries. I am quite alieve to my responsibilities, yet I am a Swadeshist and do not hestitate in declaring so. In fact, I anticipated the Swadeshi movement about three years before it was started in Bengal. It was in 1903 that I wrote a little pamphlet in Hindustani showing the material, economic, social, and political advantages of developing Indian art, industries and commerce, and setting forth the following two propositions before the Talukdars of Oudh :—

(1) To form an Association with the object of creating union and friendship between the different races inhabiting India, every member of which should make it a point to use, *as far as conveniently possible*, home-made things and assign to himself the duty of inducing others to use indigenous things, to foster Indian commerce and industries and help Indian enterprises.

(2) To open stores under the management of the members of the above-mentioned Association on the principle of co-operative companies, in important towns, with branches in smaller towns. The object of these stores to be to popularize India-made things, to bring them within the easy reach of the people, to procure new designs and new inventions, to advertise indigenous goods and to help Indian workmen, artizans and manufacturers.

I suggested that these stores and associations should publish their own organ and prepare a complete and up-to-date Directory of all the India-made things. In short, I suggested a complete organisation for the economic, commercial, and industrial development of India and its resources: as I believed then, and believe now, that Swadeshism is the thing which can effect the salvation of the people of this "land of regrets." Swadeshism is the weapon in the hands of not only Indians but the whole Asiatic world to break the prowess of Europe. Europe dominates over Asia through its materialism, commercial activities, industrial development, scientific inventions and organising power. Swadeshism would bring all these things to Asia also.

As regards Mussalmans, they, not only of India, but of other countries also, stand in need of Swadeshism. It gave me pain when I learnt that the marvellous Bazustan (covered market) in Constantinople, where I saw them selling trinkets of no value and other foreign trash, was a place where they used to sell before the Crimean War, indigenous things to the value of thousands of pounds every day. The same is the case in other towns of Turkey, Persia and Egypt. Let those "disarmed" Indians, who consider that military strength is necessary for the prosperity of a country and its people, take a lesson from Turkey and its people. Turkey is in a very unprosperous state, although the Turkish nation is armed to the teeth. The one thing wanting there is Swadeshism. Let those thoughtless Indians, who imagine that, once they get rid of their "alien" and "unsympathetic" rulers, everything in India will be all right, give a thought to the

state of affairs in Persia. Persia is not a country governed by aliens, still the Persians are the most unhappy and an impoverished poor people. The Persians are an intellectual people; they are one people; their country is a rich country and they have their own ruler over their head. But one thing is wanting in them and that is Swadeshism.

But pure and simple spirit of Swadeshism cannot do much. The great nationalist of the age, the Mazzini of Egypt,—Mustafa Kamel Pasha—inspired the whole of Egypt with the spirit of nationalism, but he could do nothing for the prosperity of the country because he was not a practical Swadeshist. Even if Egypt were to become free to-day from the domination of Europe, it would still have to remain, economically, the slave of Europe. The prosperity of a country and the happiness of a people rest, in these days, on the development of the resources of the country and on commerce and industry.

I have shown that all the Islamic countries—Egypt, Turkey and Persia—stand in need of Swadeshism. In India it is the Mussalmans to whom Swadeshism would prove more beneficial than it would to the Hindus. The one business which would profit most by Swadeshism is the cloth manufacturing business and so the one people who would be most benefited are the *Julahas*, who, are as a rule, Mussalmans. There is another way how the Mussalmans will profit most by the development and revival of Indian industries and commerce. It will open fresh fields to the Muslim population for the investment of their money. At present there is none for them, while there

is for the Hindus, who are not forbidden by their religion to take interest.

What is the case now? If an ordinary Hindu tenant can spare a few maunds of wheat or a few rupees, he lends that to others, (generally to a Mussalman) on an exorbitant interest and those few maunds of wheat and those few rupees he possesses begin to increase and so high at places is the rate of interest that in no time the tenant becomes a *mahajan*. But, if perchance a Mussalman manages to save some grain or money, he does not find any way to increase those things. The grain gets eaten by insects and the money by dust, because it is buried deep in the ground. Now, if there be an industrial improvement in the country, it would then enable the Mussalman, who manages to save a little, to invest it in some paying concern or some petty industry. He could have a chance of buying a share in any company, if nothing else. But Mussalmans cannot possibly join in militant Swadeshism. They have an international importance and a greater responsibility. They are bound by duty and by religion to be loyal to the ruling authority. They have to win the sympathies and affections of the British people, not only for themselves in India, but also for the sake of their co-religionists abroad. So if their Hindu countrymen want them to join hands with them in Swadeshism, that Swadeshism must be run on peaceful and economic and on political and militant lines.

48. H. E. SIR ARTHUR LAWLEY.*

In the last 50 years, the population of India—I speak in round numbers—has practically doubled ; the revenue has practically trebled ; the volume of trade has increased enormously and is increasing year by year. There has also been a considerable increase in the general prosperity of India. These facts, I think, cannot be gainsaid. At the same time, there has been a very great rise in prices of the food-stuffs of the country which has pressed heavily on the labouring classes inasmuch as they have not enjoyed a corresponding rise in wages. I do not propose to analyse the various causes to which this rise in prices may be attributed, but one factor is undoubtedly the great increase in the number of the population. That increase still goes on ever more rapidly, and as it continues, it must tend to produce a still higher rise in prices. At the same time, the area available for the expansion of the cultivation of food-crops is restricted, and I am myself doubtful whether there is any considerable amount of land now uncultivated which could be utilised for the purpose of increasing the supply of food-stuffs. There is another undoubted cause for this rise in the prices of food-stuffs and that is the tendency of cultivators to raise non-food crops, *e.g.*, cotton, jute and oilseeds, on account of the larger profit obtainable thereby. Now it seems to me that Government is bound to consider in what way, if any, this very serious state of affairs may be remedied. Possible remedies may be found (1) by increasing the productivity of the

* Extracts from the opening speech delivered by H. E. Sir A. Lawley, Governor of Madras, at the Industrial Conference, Ootacamund.

soil, and (2) by opening up new fields of industry. To the former end *i.e.*, to increase the productivity of the soil we must rely upon the application of scientific methods and the adoption of modern ideas, but before either the one or the other can be introduced, a long period of experiment or research is necessary, and even then, if results are satisfactory, the conservative prejudices of the ryot have to be overcome.

The time is opportune, moreover, because of the *Swadeshi* spirit of the hour, and by this I mean the true *Swadeshi* which inspires the patriot to works of progress, prosperity and peace and not the political *pseudo Swadeshi* (the evil genius of India) which inspires the demagogue to work for class hatred, lawlessness and sedition.

To my thinking, *Swadeshi* is the drawing of a great idea of the process of which a description may be found in the words of the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu, who says :—" It is becoming more and more apparent that the realisation of our political ideal is to a great extent, if not wholly, dependent upon our progress as a nation in the path of useful knowledge, industry and commerce, and upon our powers of co-operation, combination and organization."

If, as I think we may, we accept this observation as a sound statement of what the aims of *Swadeshi* should be, it behoves us to consider how the lines are to be laid down whereon India is to progress so as to achieve pre-eminence in "industrialism," to use a single comprehensive word. Government may perhaps do something in the way of developing industries, and bringing within the reach

of the rising generation education of a *practical* kind, by which I mean education pertaining to the practice of an art or science. But whatever Government may attempt, it is hopeless to look for success unless the men of this country are willing to use their capital individually or collectively and to insist on their sons acquiring skill in business technique and management.

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49. HIS HONOR SIR A. FRASER. *

Your love for India is a supreme love. She is your old motherland, associated with all that is sacred and beautiful in your traditions. I too have lived for thirty-seven years in this country and have come under her spell. I have done my life's work here and have learned to love the country. She is my adopted motherland. When an appeal is made to us to advance the interests of India, we cannot but hear. We earnestly desire to see her interests, her manufactures, her industries, all that concerns her, blessed and prospering.

There are those, however, who pose as deeply concerned for "Swadeshi" interests, who deliberately set aside that which you, as well as I, hold to be the highest and the best. We all earnestly desire to see the material "Swadeshi" interests advanced, and many of us have proved our desire in effective action. But to us it would seem deplorable to lose the spirit and traditions of the country. These are being sacrificed and set aside by many noisy teachers of to-day. To you as teachers of

* Reply to an address by the Pandits at Nadia.

your religion, which is a religion of loyalty and peace, those who are most loyal to the spirit of India, look for resistance not only to the murderous anarchy which has recently shocked all sections of the community, but the sometimes thoughtless and sometimes wicked teaching which has led, and is leading, up to lawlessness and crime.

THE REV. C. F. ANDREWS,* M.A.,

Since the Swadeshi movement started, it has often been recognized in Magazines, Reviews, that even the material object, the purchase of Indian goods, will not be accomplished unless the whole movement is inspired with a spiritual purpose. True Swadeshi is a spirit and there are many of us who hope that this spiritual purpose, namely, the achievement of national self-consciousness, will become the fuller meaning, of the word in future and that a man will not only be regarded as a true Swadeshi, who purchases Indian goods but also the man who breaks through denationalizing caste prejudices, who forsakes customs which separate Indian from Indian, who meets with and treats with his fellow-countrymen on equal and brotherly terms.

India at the present time has reached a crisis on an infinitely larger scale. She needs the help of each one of her children to rescue her from her present dangerous position. She needs self-devotion and self-sacrifice on the lines of brotherhood and humanity whereby every Indian of whatever race or creed is regarded always as a fellow-countryman, never as a parish and an outcast.

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* Reprint from the *Tribune*, Lahore.

In the forefront of all endeavours after Nationalism should be placed the principles that unite and endear and attract Indian and Indian, man to man. The appeal should be made to these motives realizing their irresistible powers when once shown forth in action. In the long run slowly and silently, great principles work their way and make their effect felt. They carry with them also this immense advantage—the progress may be slow, but it is permanent, things have not to be undone and there is not the heart-breaking experience as the movement proceeds that a new crop of evils is merely taking the place of the old and that no real deliverance has been wrought upon the earth.

Let me explain in detail the last sentence I have written. We long to see India a self-governing nation and we appeal to every Indian to help us. We may base our appeal on many grounds. There are selfish motives and we may appeal to them. For instance there is the most terrible and powerful appeal to race-hatred, a hatred which can easily be awakened. But with what result? Suppose the impossible, suppose that national self-government were achieved by such an appeal, would it not carry with it such a crop of evils that the last state would be worse than the first? The very strength of race-hatred which achieved success would afterwards work ruin. The foreigner being removed, race-hatred would work inward and all the old inter-racial disputes between Hindu and Mussalman, Pathan and Sikh, and the like would begin over again until at last some other foreign power would intervene and put an end to them.

The appeal to a selfish motive always leaves a legacy of selfishness.

But there are motives, on the other hand, which are altogether subtle and unselfish and which achieves altogether permanent results. "There shall never be one lost goods" is not a mere fancy of the poet Browning, but a scientific fact. The good which will never be lost in national life is genuine brotherhood and sympathy —the actual love of our fellow-men showing itself in deeds of social service. If the great primary motive in the struggle for material life be the constructive power of love and brotherhood, instead of the destructive power of racehatred, if it be the genuine desire to uplift the whole people of India of every caste and creed, if it be the genuine longing to see submerged and depressed classes of the community upraised, if it be the genuine effort to develop the highest and the best in India for the benefit of mankind, then Swadeshi becomes a spiritual principle which God Himself will bless, for it will be in the line of the divine order of the progress of the world. The greatest of all patriots have had this primary motive as a passion of the soul. It rings true in very line that Mazzini has written. Such men with such motives have wrought deliverance in the earth, a deliverance which has not fallen back again to decay but has remained and inalienable heritage of mankind.

It is true that in very large movement there will be much, very much, that will not reach this high standard, there will be much dross mixed with the pure gold. But

I am writing to the more earnest, especially to the younger generation of the educated classes, who are now forming their ideals, and I long to see the clearest recognition of the primary motive of true nation-building— the motive not of prejudice and racial dislike, however great the provocation, the motive not of the elevation of one section of the community at the expense of others, but the supreme motive of India as a whole and of every Indian as a fellow-countryman—the motive of making all human life in this fair motherland healthier, happier, nobler, sweeter, purer. Here is the goal of Swadeshi. Every effort made on these lines and with this motive *must* prevail, because it is in the line of the divine order of the progress of the world.

APPENDIX.

SWADESHI IN IRELAND.

I

There has come into my possession a small booklet which will, I think, writes the London correspondent of the *A. B. Patrika*, interest Indian readers, because it shows practical steps which are being taken to further the Swadeshi movement in Ireland. There is no title on the title page of the booklet, only the following advice in Erse and English.

"Go! Buy the products of your own land and keep in Ireland the wealth to build our nation up."

The two quotations are separated by a simple shamrock design. On opening the booklet, I discovered that it was

issued under the direction of the Cork Industrial Development Association, and was, in reality, a "List of various goods made in Ireland, together with names and address of manufacturers." The point of the little publication is emphasised by these words: "Over twelve million pounds sterling of imported goods are sold in Ireland annually." A further intimation on the first page is to the effect that the booklet is printed at Cork on Irish-made paper with Irish-made ink. I turn over and find an Introduction; it is brief. It explains that the Cork Industrial Development Association has compiled a list of Irish manufactures and the goods they manufacture. The list is not complete, but further editions will be published from time to time. So careful has the Association been in the compilation that it has marked the names of the different firms with an "M" or an "I" or both, meaning that the firm is manufacturer or importer or both. And in pursuance of its aims, the Association requests that when orders are sent to an "M. I." firm, purchasers should clearly state that they require goods of Irish manufacture. After the Introduction comes an appeal to Irishmen; the first and last sentences are in Erse, so I can only judge of their meaning by the tone of the English paragraphs which find a place between. The first of these begins with this sentence: "The truest test of a patriot is Deeds not Words." Then follows this: "There have been in the past many men who said great things about their love for Ireland but in the actions of their daily lives showed a complete indifference to the best interests of their country. Of such was the man who brought and used foreign clothes, foreign

furniture, foreign food, without thinking that by so doing he was driving many an Irish artizan from his country and starving those that remained at home. A country without thriving artizans means poverty-stricken farmers, struggling shopkeepers, and the impossibility of National Development." I glance down the page and cannot forbear to give two or three more extracts, for they prove that not only Swadeshi but also boycott is advocated nearer home than India: (boycott, in fact, is an Irish term).

"Every man that truly loves his country feels ashamed if he spends one penny on anything foreign, when the same article—equal in value—can be made by Irish hands.

"Almost everything of ordinary use is manufactured in Ireland."

"Irish men and women should see that in their homes and everywhere they have any influence, Irish goods should be used. The housekeeper should demand Irish goods even to a pennyworth of blacking or a box of matches. The child should be trained to ask for Irish sweets."

"Everything, no matter how small, will create and foster the demand for Irish goods, and thus keep busy thousands of hands, provide work for thousands more, and build up the industrial future of the country."......

Perhaps, I may add here a word or two about the serious and practical effort which has been made to revive the almost forgotten language of Ireland, Erse. Erse, it is stated, was a finished speech before modern

European languages were known; it was spoken 2,000 years ago, and in linguistical value ranks next to Sanskrit —so says the President of the Gælic League of London. But it was dying out until about twelve years ago, in the belief that "it is the only dead language that is alive," a League was formed to revive it now the names of streets and railway stations appear in Erse; concerts of Irish music are given; plays are produced in Erse and sermons also, and public prayers; elementary and more advanced lessons in the language were given in at least one newspaper. He is a mavement which is an object lesson in patriotism.

II

The *Irish Messenger* for June, 1906 contains the following impassioned exhortation, which we have much pleasure in commending to the attention of all workers in the Swadeshi cause:—

"The feast of the Sacred Heart is approaching. What have you to offer for the consolation of that Heart, so loving, and so little loved? Don't let the grass grow under your feet. See that your circle is in as courshing a condition as your zeal and watchfulness can make it.

But, remember, constant employment and fair wages at home are the surest preventive of the lamentable exodus from Ireland. Now, we can give employment and good wages in our cities and towns, if, through real patriotism, we buy exclusively Irish goods, when they are as cheap and as good as foreign articles. Rigidly follow this rule in buying even a half penny's worth. Urge the members of your "circles" to do the same. The purchase of all food, clothes, household articles, agri-

cultural and other machinery, &c., should be determined by this simple prescription.

When about to buy, always insist on having Irish articles, at least when they are as cheap and as good as imported articles. This should be your undeviating custom. Do this for God's greater glory and for the love of your country, and you will enable thousands of our young people to love and serve the Sacred Heart at home in their own beloved country."

That is how they encourage and support indigenous industries in Ireland. From the public platform, the pulpit and the press, the voice of the Swadeshi agitator is heard, exhorting the nation to support home industries. Every religious festival is taken advantage of in order to popularise the Swadeshi agitation, Ireland thus offers an object-lesson which ought to hearten all workers in the Swadeshi cause in this country.

III

The following is an extract from a very effective speech delivered by Dr. T.M. Nair at a public meeting held in Madras, in 1905, to protest against certain unconstitutional measures adopted by the authorities in Bengal :—

" In 1703, 1705 and 1707, the Irish House of Commons resolved unanimously that it would conduce to the relief of the poor and to the good of the Kingdom, that the inhabitants thereof should use none other but the manufactures of their kingdom in their apparel and the furniture of their houses; and in the last of these sessions (1707), the members engaged their honor to conform themselves to this resolution."

This position of the Irish House of Commons was supported by Swift in his well-known work entitled "Proposal for the universal work of Irish manufacture" which appeared in the year 1720. Then again in the case of the American colonies when Great Britain imposed great commercial restrictions on them, they had recourse to the same system of boycotting British goods.

Mr. Lecky says:—"In order that the colonies might be able to dispense with assistance from England, great efforts were made to promote manufacture. The richest citizen set the example of dressing in old or home-spun clothes rather than wear new clothes imported from England and in order to supply the deficiency of wool, a general agreement was made to abstain from eating lamb." Coming to more modern times, we have the instance of Chinese boycott of American goods.

INDIA'S RESOURCES.

SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH, K. C. I. E.:— India, the land of the pagoda tree! India, the mine of wealth!! India, the wonder and admiration of Marco Polo, and of travellers of former times!! India in poverty!! Midas starving amid heaps of gold does not afford a greater paradox: yet here we have India, Midas-like, starving in the midst of untold wealth.

For India has untold wealth: wonderful natural resources, whether agricultural, mineral or industrial, but they are to a great extent dormant. It has coal of an

excellent quality ; it has fine petroleum, large quantities of timber and charcoal ; it has iron, of a purity that would make an English iron-master's mouth water, spread wholesale over the country in most places to be had by light quarrying over the surface; it has chrome-iron capable of making the finest Damascus blades, manganiferous ore, splendid hematites in profusion. It has gold, silver, antimony, tin, copper, plumbago, lime, kaolin, gypsum, precious stones, asbestos : soft wheat equal to the finest Australian, hard wheat equal to the finest Kabanka. It has food-grains of every description : oilseeds, tobacco, tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, spices, lac, dyes, cotton, jute, hemp, flax, coir, fibres of every description ; in fact, products too numerous to mention. Its inhabitants are frugal, thrifty, industrious, capable of great physical exertion, docile, easily taught, skilful in any work requiring delicate manipulation. Labour is absurdly cheap, and the soil for the most part wonderfully productive.

Were India wholly isolated from the rest of the world or its mineral productions protected from competition, there cannot be the least doubt that she would be able, from within her own boundaries, to supply nearly all the requirements, in so far as the mineral world is concerned, of a highly civilized community.

I may add that this remark is applicable not only to mineral products, but also to almost every other article of produce. The coalfields, as far as they have been explored, cover an area of 35,000 square miles and are estimated to contain 20,000,000,000 tons of coal. In Bengal and Assam, there is coal nearly equal in evaporative power to the Welsh steam coal.

In some parts of India the supply of iron ore is on a scale of unparallelled magnitude, whole hills and ranges of it being of the purest varieties. There are also available in India millions of potential horse power, in the form of water flowing from the mountain ranges capable of being converted into electrical energy at generating stations near the hills and conveyed with slight loss to centres even at very great distances, where it can be utilized for industrial purposes.

There is plenty of capital in India. The amount of wealth now hoarded in the country has been estimated at about £550,000,000: but neither this, nor British capital, will flow to a market in which its operations are checked and its struggling industries swamped by unlimited foreign competition. [*From a paper on "The Industrial Development of India" contributed to the First Indian Industrial Conference, held at Benares, in December, 1905.*]

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INDEX.

A

PAGE.

Abdul Rasul ... 255
Act, Trade marks ... 172
Aden ... 281
Adopted motherland ... 296
Advertisement, devices of.. 130
Agency, Central ... 240
Agra marble work ... 273
Agricultural country ... 21
—— exhibition ... 33
—— industry ... 36
—— labours ... 149
—— Science ... 22
Agriculture, Danish ... 216
——, Imperial Department of ... 235
—— and Manufacture, interdependence of. 194
—— and Swadeshi. 38
——, Scientific knowledge of ... 37
Ahimsa ... 169
All comprehensive movement ... 76
All India Exhibition ... 87
Alluminium manufactories 241
American Swadeshi ... 146
"Amrita Bazaar Patrika". 300
Ananda K. Coomaraswamy ... 243

PAGE.

Ananda Charlu, Rai Bahadur P. 221 & 276
Andrews, Rev. C.F. ... 297
Anglo-Indian newspaper. 277
Annie Besant ... 43
Anti British boycott ... 204
Artist painter ... 210
Art, Indian ... 46
—, Indian Schools of ... 210
Articles, durable ... 192
Arts & Craft, guild ... 210
—— & Crafts of U. P. & Punjab ... 274
Arundale, G. S. ... 198
Arya Samaj and Swadeshi. 288
Ashutosh Chaudhuri, Sir... 94
Assam industries ... 281
Association for the advancement of scientific and technical education. 49
Aswini Kumar Datta ... 124

B

Backerganj industries ... 12
Baij Nath, Lala ... 82
Balfour and retaliation ... 92
Banerjea, Hon. Babu Surendranath ... 75
—— Sir Guru Das ... 42
Banking and Trade ... 113

	PAGE.
Banks, fifteen new ...	190
—— Swadeshi ...	186
Baring, Sir Evelyn ...	228
Barisal strike. ...	124
Barjan ...	268
Barlow, Glyn ...	169
—— on the son of India	221
Baroda, Gaekwar of ...	2
—— Mills ...	3
Basirhat weaving ...	280
Basu, Hon. Babu Bupendranath ...	295
Bengal after Partition ...	80
—— Banking corporation. ...	128
—— before Partition ...	80
—— Hosiery Co. ...	268
—— industries ...	274
—— Iron and Steel Company ...	40
—— Lakshmi Cotton Mill ...	268
—— Lakshmi Mill. ...	39
—— Zamindars ...	37
——, Technical Institute	137 & 182
Bengali official ...	225
Besant, Annie ...	43
Bilati, hypnotic charms of	252
Birdwood, Sir George ...	277
Bismarck on protection ...	182
Bleeding India ...	18
Bombay mills ...	2
Borderings, figured ...	207
Bose, A.M. ...	77
Boycott ...	30
—— and British elector	64
—— by deed ...	70
——, dangers of ...	104

	PAGE.
Boycott on economic grounds ...	65
Brass and copper industries	5
British—a Commercial nation ...	65
—— capital in plantations ...	19
—— elector and boycott	64
—— manufacturer and constitution ...	180
—— and Native rule ...	253
Bryan ...	123
Buck, Sir Edward.	225 & 273
Burdwan mines and manufactures ...	278
Bureau, Central Commercial ...	131
Bureaus, functions of	105,106
Burma market ...	226
Burmese Silks ...	272
—— umbrellas ...	272

C

Calcutta Congress Resolutions ...	284
—— imports ...	281
—— museum ...	247
Capital, European ...	8
—— for Swadeshi enterprise ...	28
——, Indian ...	179
—— in India ...	307
Carmichael, Lord ...	179
Cast iron pillars ...	206
Caste system ...	219
Catalogue of industries ...	220
Cawnpore factories ...	229
—— industries ...	227
Census report of Bengal ...	205

PAGE.

Central agency ... 240
——— Provinces industries ... 274
Chamberlain and protection ... 92
——— on German protections ... 286
Chatterton, Mr. ... 209
Chaudhury, Pandit Rambaj ... 288
——— Sir A. ... 94
Chinese market 210 & 111
Coalfields ... 306
——— of Bengal ... 6
Coercion and intimidation 267
Colleges, engineering ... 237
Colonial Commodities ... 140
——— industries ... 139
Commercial drain ...57,79
——— Dictionary ... 138
——— independence. 195
Committees of inspection. 145
Company killed Indian industries ... 98
Company's policy ... 15
Competition ... 129
Conference, Industrial 158 & 294
Congress at Surat ... 284
——— Calcutta ... 284
——— Resolutions on Swadeshism ... 284
Congressmen and Swadeshism ... 275
Conservatives and liberals. 263
Consumption ... 73
Cooly labour ... 207
Coomaraswami, A.K. ... 243
Co-operation ... 70

PAGE.

Co-operation for self-sacrifice ... 53
——— of communities ... 195
——— of Government ... 25
——— with philanthrophists ... 237
Cork Industrial Development Association ... 301
Coronation robes of the Queen Empress ... 274
Cornbury, Lord, on Colonial industries ... 139
Cottage Industry ... 5
Cotton boom ... 228
——— mills ... 4
——— spinning mills ... 208
County councils ... 233
Court of Directors' remarks ... 98
Cow protecting movement. 52
Cradle of new India ... 32
Craftsmen and illiteracy... 185
———, heriditary ... 187
Crane, Walter ... 210
Credit Organisation ... 113
Criminal classes and Swadeshi ... 55
Crops, failure of ... 102
———, area under ... 102
Cultivation, expansion of... 294
Cumming's report ... 182
Curzon and India ... 21
———, Lady and Swadeshism ... 274
Custom and internal taxes ... 141

PAGE.

C.H.C. students & swadeshism ... 45

D

Dacca and Swadeshism ... 283
Dadabhai—a free trader.. 1
——— Naoroji ... 1
———, Hon. M. B. ... 180
Damascas blades ... 306
Danish agriculture ... 216
Datta, A. K. ... 124
Deeds not words ... 301
Definition of Swadeshi ... 160
Demand at home and abroad ... 182
Democracy and socialism in Europe ... 249
Department of Economic products ... 225
Depot requisites ... 201
Desai, Dewan Bahadur Ambalal S. ... 188
Designs for hand weavers. 209
Dharbhanga, H. H. The Maharaja of ... 185
Dholepur Raj ... 272
Dinshaw E. Wacha, Sir... 107
Distribution ... 73
——— and Production ... 58
Division of labour ... 195
Drain, commercial ... 79
——, Indian and European ... 151
——, official ... 79
—— on Indian capital ... 244
Drawing room equipment. 273
Drought ... 253

PAGE.

Dutch system ... 110
Duty on imports ... 203
Dutt, R.C. ... 91
Dyes, importation of ... 246

E

Eastern Bengal Industries. 281
——— Bengal Steamer Service ... 137
——— market ... 244
East India Co's Factories. 154
Ebrahim, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy ... 180
Economic department ... 236
——— development ... 280
——— independence ... 138
——— laws ... 260
——— man ... 72
——— muddle in India 1
——— protection ... 189
——— Swadeshi ... 72
Economics, Indian ... 211
——— of hope and despair ... 57
Economy of production... 196
Educational reform ... 236
Education and Swadeshi... 42
———, extension of primary ... 234
———, national council of ... 137
———, professional .. 226
———, unsound ... 89
———, widespread ... 147
Efficiency in control ... 194
Egyptian cotton ... 24
——— Swadeshism ... 292
Electricians ... 238

PAGE.

Elliot, Sir Charles ... 203
Employment and Swadeshism ... 54
——for the poor. ... 192
Enamels, Jeypore ... 273
Enemies of the country, the real ... 99
Engineering Colleges ... 237
England—violently Swadeshi ... 97
England's free trade policy ... 285
——unfair legislation ... 149
English commerce ... 96
European and Indian organizations ... 84
——dress for Indians ... 151
——style ... 245
——supervision ... 230
Excise amount ... 205
Exhibition, agricultural... 33
——Madras ... 246
Exhibitions, provincial ... 87
Exports, manufactured ... 203

F

Factory labour ... 9
Factories of East India Co. 154
Failures, cause of Swadeshi ... 167
Fairbank, Rev. H. ... 187
Famine and starvation ... 253
——Commission ... 115
——Commission's recommendations ... 233
Famines ... 115
Farmer and manufacturer 193
Farms, experimental ... 362

PAGE.

Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim ... 180
First famine commission... 270
Fiscal autonomy ... 181
——control ... 92
——dependence on England ... 180
——policy ... 232
Fly shuttle ... 100
Food grains of India ... 306
——stuffs, rise in price of 294
————want of ... 254
Foreign goods and the middle class . . 276
Fraser, Sir A. ... 296
Freetrade—a mockery ... 262
——fetish ... 286
——forcing ... 16
——policy of England ... 285
——principles, dangerous. 175
Frugality, promotion of ... 144
Furniture for Indian homes 250

G

Gaekwar of Baroda ... 2
Gaelic, League of ... 303
Gandhi, M. K. ... 160
Gangetic Delta ... 135
Gazette, Swadeshi ... 202
German sugar ... 83
Ghose, Dr. R. B. ... 31
——H.P. ... 277
Ghuznavi, Hon. Mr. .. 266
Glass industry ... 174
Glassware in Oosar plain. 274
Glyn Barlow ... 169
Goculdas Parekh, Hon.Mr. 101
Gokhale, G.K. ... 9

PAGE.
Goods, Indian ... 259
Gostling David ... 206
Government interference. 219
——of India Resolution ... 237
Government's responsibility ... 216
Govindaraghava Iyer ... 263
Gunny bags and tweed ... 222
Guzerat weavers ... 153

H

Haberdashery European. 245
Hall Mark ... 201
Handicrafts of India ... 262
Handlooms ... 197
Handloom at Kulna ... 280
——for Bengal ... 135
Handmade goods ... 16
Harikishen Lal, Hon. Mr. 72
Harmoniums and Gramophones ... 247
Hemendra Prasad Ghose. 277
Hindu craftsmen's conservatism ... 127
Hindustan, Rainfall in ... 253
Hoarded wealth ... 307
Home made articles, quality of ... 199
——industries 144, 298
——charges ... 20
Honest Swadeshi of Lord Minto ... 181
Hooghly manufactures ... 278
Horse power, potential ... 307
Hotel, Watson's, Esplanade 206
Hungarian sugar ... 83

I

PAGE.
Ideal of Swadeshi ... 214
Ideas, boycott of foreign... 248
Illiteracy and Muslims ... 252
Imperial Department ... 238
——Department of agriculture ... 235
——Gazetteer of India ... 159
——protection ... 172
Imports, average ... 26
—— from Calcutta ... 283
——of India ... 18
Importations ... 88
Imported goods inferior ... 231
—— luxuries ... 143
Independent nations ... 257
India — an agricultural country ... 212
——and British manufacturer's interest ... 181
——arts and crafts ... 184
——before the British ... 13
——industrialism ... 177
——poorest country ... 26
Indian arts, manufactures and labour ... 46
—— capital ... 179
——market ... 69
——Economics ... 211
——Mill fabrics ... 275
——national art ... 47
——Schools of art ... 210
——in European dress. ... 151
Indian craftsman's immobility ... 186
India's resources ... 305
India, untold wealth of ... 306
"Indian Trade Journal" ... 279

PAGE.

Indigenous labour and industries ... 222
Industrial Conference 158, 294
——— Conference, Poona ... 207
——— decay in Company's time ... 15
——— domination ... 10
——— history of Europe ... 249
——— independence ... 195
——— India ... 170
——— inspiration ... 218
——— problems ... 12
——— repression ... 138
——— Serfdom ... 94
——— system in India 249
Industrialism ... 295
——— India's ... 177
Industry, agricultural ... 36
——— and merit ... 217
——— cottage ... 58
——— iron ... 3
——— jute ... 4
——— silk ... 5
——— sugar ... 24
Industries and young men. 34
——— Brass and Copper ... 5
——— Catalogue of ... 220
——— gigantic ... 222
——— in Assam and Eastern Bengal ... 281
——— in Madras. Bengal and C.P. ... 274
——— in Muslim India ... 14
——— not service ... 40
——— nascent ... 225

PAGE.

Industries of India, figures. 7
——— smaller ... 181
——— textile ... 5
Infant industries, protection of ... 67
Inland protection ... 97
Inspection committees ... 145
Institution of industrial research ... 242
Insurance Company ... 39
Inter-racial disputes ... 298
Ireland—list of manufactures in ... 301
———, Swadeshi in ... 300
Irish Messenger ... 303
Iron Industry ... 6
——— ore ... 307
——— steel and manganese industries ... 274
Ivories, Mysore ... 273

J

Japan, competition with ... 111
Japanese instructions ... 242
Jeypore enamels ... 273
——— style ... 209
Joint Stock Companies ... 83
Journals and Swadeshi Movement ... 297
Jute Industry ... 4

K

Khulna hand looms ... 280
Khumba Mela ... 164
Kidwai, M. Husain ... 289
Krishnaswami Aiyar, Hon. 130
——— Rao, Dewan Bahadur ... 69

L

PAGE.
Labour, abundantly cheap 306
——— division of ... 195
Labrador tea ... 143
Ladies and Swadeshism... 266
Laissez-faire policy ... 36
Lajpat Rai, Lala. 61, 69
———— Swadeshi for 25 years ... 66
Lala Baij Nath, Rai Bahadur 82
Lancashire manufactures, 204
Lathies, regulation and ... 101
Lawley, Sir Arthur ... 294
Laws, economic ... 260
—— physical ... 260
Legitimate Swadeshi ... 239
Liberals and conservatives ... 263
Literature and Swadeshi... 170
Loans to Scholars ... 105
Logic of facts ... 267
Ludhiana weavers ... 152
Luxuries, European ... 244

M

Machine made goods ... 16
Madan Mohan Malaviya, Hon. Pandit ... 114
Madras, Exhibition ... 246
——— industries ... 278
——— School of Arts ... 204
Magazine, Swadeshi ... 225
Mahomedans and the Swadeshi Movement ... 276
Mahomed Yusuf, Khan Bahadur ... 38
Malaviya, Hon. Pandit ... 114
PAGE.
Manchester mandate ... 99
——— prints ... 246
Manufactured exports ... 203
Manufacturer and farmer. 193
Manufacturers' patriotism 177
Manufacturing prosperity — four elements ... 192
Marble book, Agra ... 273
Market, Indian ... 63
Markets, capturing the ... 180
Match manufacturing factory ... 128
Mauritius sugar ... 167
Mazzini's influence ... 299
Mc Kinn, Mr. C.W. ... 273
Middle class and foreign goods ... 276
——— classes and Swadeshi ... 183
Middlemen ... 130
Militant Swadeshism ... 293
Mill on protection ... 286
Mills for Bengal ... 135
—— in Baroda ... 3
—— in Bombay and Lancashire ... 2
Mineral wealth of India... 306
Mines and Manufactures in Burdwan ... 278
Minto's honest Swadeshi. 181
Money, brains and labour. 195
———, want of ... 254
Monopolise home market.. 213
Mookerjee, Prof. Radha Kumud, M. A. ... 186
———— Raja Peary Mohan ... 48
————, Sir R.N. ... 183
———— Tara Prasanna.. 258

PAGE.
Morris William ... 209
Motherland, adopted ... 296
Motive power, a ... 33
Mudholkar, Hon. Rao Bahadur ... 269
Mujbur Rahman ... 251
Museum, Calcutta ... 274
Mushir H. Kidwai ... 289
Musical instruments ... 247
Muslims and European princes ... 256
Muzumdar, A.C. ... 133
Mymensingh and Swadeshi movement ... 283
Myron, H. Phelps ... 138
Mysore Ivories ... 273

N

Nair, Dr. T. M. ... 304
National Council of education ... 40
——— fund movement ...121
——— self-government. 298
Nationalism and Swadeshi. 297
Native capital and new-industries ... 232
Navigation ... 110
Navigation Company ... 137
Naoroji, Dadabhai ... 1
Net loss of India ... 19
Newspapers Anglo-Indian. 277
Nivedita, Sister ... 50
No taxation without representation ... 142

O

Obstacles to Swadeshi enterprises ... 71

PAGE.
Occupations, diversity of. 261
Official drain. ... 29
Oil Engineering ... 207
Open markets and political privileges ... 65
Organization of industries ... 179
Ormerod, Harry ... 193
" Oudh Gazetteer " ... 274
Oudh Talukdars ... 290

P

Pagoda tree, land of the ... 305
Panchayats, village ... 165
Pan—Islamist Mussalman 289
" Patrika, A.B." ... 300
Parekh, Hon. Gokuldas ... 101
Patriotism, exclusive and inclusive ... 169
Patronage of Indian arts and crafts ... 250
People, thrifty character of the ... 270
Permanent Settlement ... 226
Phelps, Myron H. ... 138
Physical laws ... 260
Pick pockets, redemption of 54
Plantations, British capital in ... 19
Politics and religion ... 163
——— and Swadeshi ... 43
Poona Industrial Conference ... 207
Pottery works ... 137
Power of united action ... 157
——— stations ... 193
Practical education in Primary Schools ... 232

PAGE.

Preference, degree of ... 223
Princes and Swadeshi ... 273
Prithwipal Singh, Raja ... 211
Production ... 73
———— and distribution 58
Professional education ... 226
Protection and American War ... 228
———— and J. S. Mill 287
———— in America, in France and Germany. 17
———— in Ireland ... 97
———— in U. S. A. ... 285
———— judiciary system of ... 16
P. & O. Company freights 111
Protective tariffs ... 181
Provincial exhibitions ... 87
Punjab and the Swadeshi movement ... 288
Purchasing power ... 132
Pure Swadeshi ... 67
Poverty, causes of ... 101

Q

Quasi political movement, 49
Queen Empress' Coronation robes ... 274

R

Race, industrial ... 91
Raghunatha Rao Dewan Bahadur ... 89
Railways and foreign... capital ... 19
Ranade's Economics ... 19
———— writings ... 10

PAGE.

Rash Behari Ghose, Dr.... 253
Rasul, Hon. Mr. Abdul ... 51
Reasoning-Swadeshism ... 200
Relief, organised system of. 117
Religion and Politics ... 163
Remedy for many ills ... 144
Report of Mr. Cumming... 827
Representation — taxation without ... 142
Resources, India's ... 305
Revival of decaying industries ... 196
Rich men & Swadeshism 224
Risley circular—the sword of Democles ... 266
Romesh C. Dutt ... 91
Rupee, fall in ... 229
Ryot and industries ... 264

S

Salisbury and India ... 18
Savings, annual ... 19
———— in various countries ... 28
Scholarships ... 86
,, for technical instructions ... 188
School of Arts, Madras ... 201
Schools for industries ... 131
Scientific methods ... 295
Self centred nations ... 150
—— preservation ... 94
—— supporting villages ... 161
Seller's patriotism ... 177
Sentimental Swadeshi ... 134
Serhampur hand-looms... 186
Ship-building ... 110
Shoes and Sandals ... 151

PAGE.
Shop in Bengal ... 227
Silk Industry ... 5
Sister Nivedita ... 50
Sivaswami Aiyar, Sir P.S. 196
Soap factory ... 58
So-called Swadeshi movement ... 75
Socialism and art ... 209
Society for preparing lists. 201
Soil is productive ... 260
——, productivity of ... 295
Sound industrial system... 271
State, co-operation with... 243
—— help to industries... 16
Stationery depot ... 200
Steel rolling mills ... 207
Stores, Swadeshi ... 137
Subramania Iyer, Mr. G.... 118
Sugar industry ... 24
—— from Natal Mauritius, Germany and Austria... 167
Surat Congress ... 284
—— famous for industries ... 144
Surendranath Banerjea ... 75
Survey of industries ... 237
————, a natural evolution ... 258
Swadeshi and agriculture. 38
———— and loyalty ... 33
———— a forced necessity ... 9
———— and politics ... 43
———— banks ... 186
———— and Christian Communities ... 187
———— creed ... 170
———— and the Partition 35, 38

PAGE.
Swadeshi and Princes ... 273
———— is not seditious. 256
———— movement and Mahomedans .. 276
———— Gazette ... 202
———— in Ireland ... 300
———— Magazine ... 225
———— Synonymous with nationalism ... 212
————, true and false 31
———— idea ... 35
———— ideals ... 41
———— vow ... 81
———— trade ... 56
————practical form of patriotism ... 179
———— so-called ... 75
———— committees ... 59
————, obstacles to ... 71
———— literature ... 170
———— stores ... 137
———— no crime ... 171
————Symbol of excellence & Economy ... 178
————knowledge of ... 29
———— an economic necessity ... 43
———— as the religion of United India ... 67
———— as the Salvation of the country... 66
Swadeshism and the nation 10
————, definition of 222
————, reasoning ... 200
———— in Mymensingh ... 283
———— in Egypt ... 292
———— on moral basis 50

T

	Page.
Talaukdars of Oudh	... 190
Tariff, protective	... 181
Taste, degraded	... 247
Tata's Scheme	... 6
Taxation, excessive	... 89
———, without representation	... 142
Taxes, Custom and internal	... 141
Tax on machinery	... 24
Tea, Labrador	... 143
— planters	... 229
Technical Education Act.	233
——— Education	... 197
——— Institution	... 45
Textile industry	5, 22, 180
Thackersey, Sir V. D.	... 35
Theosophical Society	... 210
Tilak, B.G.	... 275
Times, the	... 159
Tin industry	... 87
Trade and banking	... 113
—— forgery	... 60
—— Marks Act	... 172
Traders' greed	... 128
Transportation of hats	... 141
Trimuph of machinery	... 2
Tweed and gunny bags	... 223
Two things are wanted	... 271

U

University examinations	... 126
Umbrellas, Burmese	... 272
U. S. A. and protection	... 285

V

	Page
Vaishyas	... 48
Victoria College	... 238
Village Panchayats	... 165
Villages, self supporting	166
Vitaldas Damodar Thackersey, Sir	... 35
Voluntary protection	... 190

W

Wacha, Sir D. E.	... 107
Watson's Esplanade Hotel	206
Weavers in Guzerat and Ludhiana	... I53
——— in Basirhat and Santipore	... 280
——— in Bengal	... I36
Weaving mills	... 208
White, Sir Herbert	... 272
Wilson, on British manufactures	... I55
Western India Industrial Conference	... I07
„ education, fruits of	I3
Wrought iron beams	... 206

Y

You must protect yourselves	... I50
Yusuf Khan Bahadur, Hon. Mahomed	... 38

Z

Zamindars of Bengal	... 37

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